

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Schwarzenegger victory in California:
victory for Bush, for bipartisan war party
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Bush signs \$87.5 billion bill for ‘war on terror’

Huge bipartisan majority in Congress gives president every penny he requested

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS
AND PATRICK O’NEILL

The U.S. Senate met on November 3 to give its final approval to the request by President George Bush for \$87.5 billion to occupy and rebuild Iraq and Afghanistan—the largest emergency spending bill ever sought by a president. Only six senators were present. They took affirmative action by a voice vote. Senator Robert Byrd, a Democrat from West Virginia, was the only one who shouted “no.” A little over two weeks earlier, when the Senate had taken a preliminary vote on the measure, 12 of its 100 members had voted no.

The U.S. House of Representatives had passed the same, final version of the appropriations bill three days earlier with a large bipartisan majority of 298-121.

The bill the Senate sent to Bush to sign into law included every penny the White House requested. It also dropped an earlier provision the Senate had approved October 17 that \$10 billion of the funds the president sought would be a loan that a future Iraqi government would have to repay. The Senate axed this amendment after Bush threatened to veto any bill that contained it.

This was another victory for the Bush administration and for the bipartisan war party in the United States.

“The strong bipartisan show of support for this bill underscores that America and the world are united to prevail in the central front in the war on terror by helping build a peaceful, democratic, and prosperous Iraq,” said Bush in a statement released by the White House the night of November 3.

Even remarks by naysayer Byrd confirmed the president’s assessment. “Our troops in Iraq and elsewhere in the world have no stronger advocate than Robert C. Byrd,” he said. “I support our troops,



EPA/Ali Haider

A U.S. tank and Humvee stand guard near the scene where a U.S. Black Hawk helicopter was shot down November 7 near Tikrit, in northern Iraq. U.S. troops raided Tikrit and other nearby towns in retaliation. Two days later, U.S. jets dropped 500-pound bombs there, the first such air strikes since the takeover of Baghdad.

I pray for their safety, and I will continue to fight for a coherent policy that brings real help—not just longer deployments and empty sloganeering—to American forces in Iraq.” Byrd criticized the package because it “does nothing to internationalize the occupation of Iraq.”

An article in the November 4 *New York Times*, reporting on the Senate’s voice vote, said, “Not voting on the record appealed to both Republicans nervous about explaining the amount to their constituents, and Democrats who did not want their patriotism questioned for opposing the bill.”

Bush signed the bill into law November 6. “With this act of Congress, no enemy

or friend can doubt that America has the resources and the will to see this war through to victory,” he stated at the signing ceremony.

Earlier that morning Bush had given a speech at the 20th anniversary event of the National Endowment for Democracy in Washington, D.C. This is an institution the wealthy families that rule the United States have used to promote U.S. imperialist domination around the world in the name of “democracy.” The aim of Bush’s presentation—like those other top figures in his administration give several times a week—was to provide rationalizations and

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Salt Lake City unionists donate food and funds to locked-out Co-Op miners

BY ANNE CARROLL

PRICE, Utah—A delegation of nine Co-Op miners returned with donations of food and funds from unionists, students, and others following a trip to Salt Lake City the

Solidarity with Co-Op miners!
—see editorial, page 10

first week of November. The coal miners have been fired since September 22 by C.W. Mining Co., also known as Co-Op, in Huntington, Utah, for protesting the suspension of a coworker the company said it intended to discharge. The miners have set up picket lines and are conducting an unfair labor practice strike with the support of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA).

The miners addressed a meeting of
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Canadian says Ottawa was complicit in his deportation to Syria by U.S. authorities

BY ROBERT SIMMS

TORONTO—Maher Arar, a Canadian citizen who was deported by U.S. immigration authorities to Syria in October 2002, where he was jailed and repeatedly tortured, is calling for a public inquiry into the role of the Canadian government in his arrest and deportation. His case shows how deeply Ottawa is involved in the U.S.-led “war on terrorism,” which includes attacks on fundamental rights of working people.

Arar was released from prison by Syrian government officials and returned to Canada October 5, after nearly a year of incarceration.

At a news conference in Ottawa November 4, Arar said he was astonished to find out that U.S. immigration agents produced a 1997 rental lease he had signed for an Ot
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Chicago immigrant rights fighter wins antideportation fight, gets green card

BY ROLLANDE GIRARD

CHICAGO—“I want to share this victory with all the people who supported me one way or another,” said a jubilant Julieta Bolívar after winning her fight against deportation November 5. Earlier that day, Immigration Judge Donald Ferlise had cancelled the deportation order and granted her permanent residency in the United States.

Bolívar has been fighting the government’s attempts to deport her since August 2002, when she was arrested on her way to a national conference of day laborers in New York. While the car was pulled over to repair a flat tire, the Pennsylvania state police stopped and asked for the identifications of all those traveling in the vehicle. Three of the passengers, including Bolívar, had no legal documents. They were handcuffed and taken to jail.

In prison, the cops told Bolívar that the only way she would see her children, who had traveled with her, was to sign a voluntary departure statement. “I didn’t hesitate and signed it right away,” she told the *Militant*. “But I knew my rights and I also made it clear that I wanted to see a lawyer and to appear in front of a judge.” She was released and given 30 days to leave the country. From the Pennsylvania jail she went on to the conference in New York.

On her return to Chicago, Bolívar did not

meekly prepare to leave the United States, but began building support for her fight to stay. Through these determined efforts, she won the backing of a broad range of individuals and community groups, laying

the basis for the November 5 decision.

Bolívar, a 33-year-old mother of three, has lived in the U.S. for 17 years. She has no known relatives in Bolivia, her country
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Save the dates!

December 6–7 New York City

Saturday, December 6, all day

A Red Saturday of work to begin building the new national headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party, an expanded New York Pathfinder bookstore, and offices of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*—all in the same location.

Sunday December 7, early afternoon

Public meeting: **The Bipartisan War Party, Working-Class Resistance, and Building the Communist Movement**

Speakers include **Jack Barnes**, SWP national secretary, and **Mary-Alice Waters**, president of Pathfinder Press. Others will report on efforts to upgrade and expand Pathfinder bookstores in London and Toronto; renovate the national center in London of the Communist League in the United Kingdom; and strengthen the regional center in Toronto of the Communist League in Canada.

Time and location to be announced. Watch upcoming issues of the ‘Militant.’ Sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party National Committee and Young Socialists For further information call 212-695-7358 or see directory on page 8

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UN votes 179-3 for an end to U.S. embargo on Cuba

BY RÓGER CALERO

NEW YORK— “The economic, commercial, and financial blockade imposed by the United States of America against Cuba must be lifted,” said Cuba’s foreign minister, Felipe Pérez Roque at the United Nations General Assembly November 4. He was speaking in the debate on a resolution calling for an end to Washington’s four-decade-old economic embargo against Cuba.

The assembly voted 179-3 in favor of the resolution, with two abstentions. Representatives of the United States, Israel, and the Marshall Islands voted “no.” The UN general Assembly has voted every year since 1992 to oppose the U.S. embargo. Each time it has received a bigger majority. This year the resolution received six votes more than last year.

The trade embargo against Cuba was imposed by the administration of John F. Kennedy in 1962, and has been maintained through nine administrations, Democratic and Republican alike. It has been reinforced with a ban on travel to the island by most U.S. residents.

In the past decade the embargo was tightened by the 1992 Torricelli Act and, four years later, the Helms-Burton Act. Both had extraterritorial reach, providing legal grounds for upping the pressure on third countries to cease trading with Cuba. The Torricelli Act barred foreign subsidiaries of U.S. companies from engaging in such commerce. Under the Helms-Burton Act, U.S. businessmen whose property was expropriated by Cuba’s workers and farmers after the January 1959 revolution were given permission to sue companies abroad that invest in those properties.

In preparation for the vote, the Cuban government presented a report detailing the impact of Washington’s economic war. “Of the \$625 million in damages to Cuba’s foreign trade in the year 2002 alone as a consequence of the blockade,” it stated, “\$178.2 million, or 26 percent, were a direct result of its extraterritorial effect.”

Trade in food and medicines with third countries was “drastically cut off as a result of the Torricelli Act,” it stated.

The Cuban government has estimated that the embargo has cost the country more than \$70 billion. In addition, it says, the financial toll of countless attacks and acts of sabotage by right-wing forces organized and backed by Washington amounts to \$54 billion.

In his November 4 address, Pérez Roque answered charges made in the debate by Washington’s UN ambassador Sichan Siv, who accused the Cuban government of human rights violations. “The United States does not have the moral authority or the right to judge the issue of human rights in Cuba,” said the Cuban foreign minister.

“The only violations of human rights committed in Cuba,” Pérez Roque said, “are those inflicted on our people by the blockade, and the ones committed by the United States in the naval base in Guantánamo, occupied against our will.”

U.S. authorities are holding 660 people from 43 countries in their Guantánamo prison camp, which was set up in January 2002 after the U.S. assault on Afghanistan.

Pérez Roque demanded the release of the “five young Cubans who have been unjustly imprisoned” in the United States. They are Antonio Guerrero, Gerardo Hernández, Ramón Labañino, René González, and Fernando González, who are serving prison terms of between 15

years and a double life sentence. They were framed up on conspiracy charges resulting from their activities in gathering information about right-wing Cuban-American groups operating in Florida—organizations with long records of violent attacks against Cuba.

At the conclusion of his speech, the Cuban foreign minister asked delegates at the UN Assembly to approve the resolution “on behalf of a generous and courageous people.

“They should not confuse our openness to dialog with the illusion that this people that has not been conquered will surrender,” said Pérez Roque. “They should not make the mistake of believing that Cuba can be dominated some day. That would be very costly for the aggressor.”

Bush signs ban on late-term abortion procedure U.S. judges block law’s enforcement; injunction covers 49 states

BY SAM MANUEL

WASHINGTON, D.C.—In the two days after U.S. president George Bush signed into law a bill banning the intact dilation and extraction abortion procedure, federal judges in Nebraska, New York, and San Francisco blocked the anti-abortion law’s enforcement. Issued in response to lawsuits filed by abortion rights and women’s health-care organizations, their temporary injunctions cover 49 states and most clinics and hospitals that provide abortions.

The Nebraska ruling by Judge Richard Kopf was the earliest, coming less than an hour after Bush’s signing ceremony on November 5. It was also the narrowest, applying only to four doctors who filed the lawsuit. Kopf based it on a 2000 decision by the Supreme Court, which struck down a similar Nebraska state law on the grounds that it did not contain an exception for protecting the health of the mother. He rebuffed the congressional finding that the exception was not necessary, stating that the “Supreme Court has found otherwise.”

Argued on the same precedents, the New York and San Francisco decisions, announced over the following couple of days, had a much broader application. The New York ruling followed a lawsuit by the National Abortion Federation, which operates clinics in almost every state and performs about half the abortions done nationwide. Federation president Vicki Saporta stated that the injunction was “wonderful news. It was very important that this bill be enjoined.”

In anticipation of the lawsuits that produced the injunction and helped lay the basis for new legal challenges, Bush told participants in the signing ceremony that his administration would “vigorously defend this law against any who would try to overturn it in the courts.”

The ceremony, which was attended by some 400 people, took on the air of an anti-abortion rights rally. A few dozen people gathered outside in a protest organized by the National Organization for Women, holding signs that read, “Keep Abortion Safe and Legal!”

Bush was repeatedly interrupted with applause and cheers as he introduced the main sponsors of the bill, its congressional supporters, members of his administration, and at least one Catholic church official. He also acknowledged the presence of Illinois Rep. Henry Hyde, the sponsor of the 1976 amendment bearing his name that barred the use of Medicaid funds for abortions.

The newly signed law is the first ban of a specific abortion procedure since the right to abortion was codified in the 1973 Supreme Court *Roe v. Wade* ruling. Opponents of abortion rights emotively and inaccurately refer to the rarely used procedure as “partial birth abortion.” Echoing their terminology at the signing, Bush said: “For years, a terrible form of violence has been directed against children who are inches from birth...it involves the partial delivery of a live boy or girl, and a sudden, violent

Garment workers in Bangladesh protest killing



Thousands of working people poured out of the garment plants in the Narayanganj district of Bangladesh November 3–4 to protest a deadly police assault on a march by garment workers. The police fired on a demonstration of thousands of mostly female garment workers that was called November 3 to protest the arrest of a unionist, Mahbubul Rahman. A 25-year-old garment worker, Kamal, was killed and some 200 protesters were injured in the brutal assault. The Narayanganj district is home to a complex of some 400 garment factories employing about 16,000 workers. Garment and textile is Bangladesh’s largest industry, employing 1.6 million.

end of that life.”

Without citing sources Bush applauded Congress for declaring that the procedure is widely regarded among doctors as “unnecessary, harmful to the mother and a violation of medical ethics.” The law provides for fines and imprisonment up to two years for doctors who perform the procedure.

The correct medical term for the procedure is intact dilation and evacuation, or D&X for short. It is usually performed when the fetus is dead, or so malformed that it will never gain consciousness and will die shortly after delivery. The procedure is also employed when the pregnancy places the woman’s life or health in severe danger.

While the new law provides for the procedure to be performed when the woman’s life is at stake, it provides no exception for the protection of her health. In 1996 and 1997 former president William Clinton vetoed similar bills for the same deficiency.

Auto workers in Brazil win wage raise after strike by 25,000

BY MICHAEL ITALIE

After striking for one week, some 25,000 autoworkers in Brazil have forced Volkswagen and other carmakers to agree to their claim for a wage raise to cover the increase in the cost of living. On November 6, a Brazilian labor court agreed to the demand of the ABC Metalworkers Union for an 18 percent increase. The demand will go before workers’ assemblies for ratification on November 7.

Workers at Ford, DaimlerChrysler, and Scania had returned to work earlier, having already won an identical increase. Their counterparts at General Motors, who are organized in a different union and did not walk out, have won a similar raise.

Reuters described the court’s decision as “a defeat for Volkswagen, which had been reluctant to sweeten its initial salary adjustment offer of 15.7 percent”—the same as the rate of inflation.

In a November 4 statement on the agreement with workers at DaimlerChrysler, Ford, and Toyota, the International Metalworkers Federation said that the wage raise “represents the rate of inflation during the past period, plus a 2 percent real increase.” The agreement also mandates a cost of living increase in September 2004, and maintains benefits at their present levels until August 2005.

The day before the court ruling, the 15,000 workers at the Volkswagen plant in São Paulo’s industrial belt had demonstrated their determination to maintain their strike by voting down an agreement between their union representatives and the bosses.

Along with 10,000 other members of the ABC union, they had shut down production October 29 in response to the bosses’ refusal

to signal the administration’s intent to use the law to attack abortion rights, Attorney General John Ashcroft has assigned its enforcement to the Justice Department’s civil rights division. Department officials said the decision is aimed at broadening the civil rights protection of fetuses.

At least three pieces of legislation along these lines are at various stages of advancement through Congress. The Unborn Victims of Violence Act would classify a fetus as a “crime victim” if injured or killed during commission of a federal offense. The Abortion Non-Discrimination Act would allow a broad range of health-care organizations and providers to refuse to pay, perform, or provide referrals for abortions. Finally, the Child Custody Protection Act would make it a crime for any person other than a parent to transport a minor across a state line to get an abortion, where it circumvents a state law requiring parental notification.

to budge from their initial wage offer. The walkout stopped production at targeted factories and forced Volkswagen to close others because of a lack of parts. The Volkswagen bosses initially pleaded poverty, arguing that their Brazilian operations were responsible for a 57 percent drop in their international third-quarter profits. They have also announced plans to slash 4,000 jobs from their plants in the country.

Once held up as a model for “emerging” capitalist countries in Latin America, Brazil’s economy began a tailspin in 1998 marked by a contraction of the gross domestic product and the skyrocketing of interest rates up to 150 percent.

Working people in Brazil have suffered the brunt of this crisis. The currency lost 35 percent of its value in 2002, and real wages for workers in Brazil declined by 8 percent between March 2002 and March of this year. Inflation in the year ending in September reached 15 percent.

At the same time, unemployment has soared to 20 percent in São Paulo, the country’s largest city—making for nearly 2 million jobless in that industrial center alone. Nationwide the figure stands at 13 percent.

Meanwhile, the Brazilian government of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva came to an agreement November 6 with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to renew its expiring loan program for another year. The accord provides \$6 billion in new funding and delays Brazilian payments of \$5.5 billion until 2006. Brazil’s total foreign debt stands at \$260 billion. An IMF representative commented that the Brazilian government’s economic policy represents a “sound program.”

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Julieta Bolívar wins antideportation fight

Continued from front page
of origin. Her children, Miriam, 13, Iván, 11, and Jesús, 8, all of whom are U.S. citizens, accompanied her to the hearing. Several Pittsburgh supporters of her fight also attended.

After initially stating that Bolívar was “removable as charged” for overstaying her visa, the judge began to modify his stand in the face of her testimony, that of her children, and the turnout in support of her fight (see account of hearing on this page).

Among those who celebrated the victory were participants in a rally in Springfield, Illinois, called to support the right of im-

migrants to hold driver’s licenses. The protesters, many of whom knew about and supported the fight, responded to the news with cheers and applause. The following day, back in Illinois, Bolívar herself went to Springfield to pressure state legislators on the driver’s license issue.

“I have fought before for the rights of everyone living here, whatever their color or language, but I will do it even more now,” said Bolívar after the hearing. “If they couldn’t deter me from defending other people’s rights before, they will certainly not be able to do so now.”

Bolívar had supported the successful campaign by Róger Calero, an editor of *Perspectiva Mundial* and a former meat-packing worker, to defeat the government’s attempts to deport him. She has also been part of the ongoing anti-deportation fight by Elvira Arellano—a partisan of her own struggle. Arellano is an airport worker who recently succeeded in postponing her deportation, which was originally scheduled for September.

Many workers in Chicago caught up with Bolívar’s victory on the Spanish-language news, which showed the new permanent resident arriving at Chicago’s Midway airport. Her story also appeared in *Hoy*, the main local Spanish newspaper.

After seeing the TV news, a worker at the Hart Schaffner and Marx garment plant commented: “Now there are three. Róger Calero, Elvira Arellano, and Julieta Bolívar. Beautiful!”

Marty Ressler from Pittsburgh and Lisa Potash from Chicago contributed to this article.



Militant/Jim Rogers

Julieta Bolívar (left) won fight against deportation. Next to her are her children Jesús, Miriam, and Iván at their Chicago home. Their T-shirts, which all four sported at the November 5 immigration hearing, read: “Amnesty, legalization for all.”

How hearing by immigration judge ended in green card for Julieta Bolívar

BY MARTY RESSLER

PITTSBURGH—I was one of the supporters of Julieta Bolívar’s antideportation fight who attended the hearing on her case in the Pittsburgh office of immigration judge Donald Ferlise on November 5.

Bolívar was represented by her lawyer, Chris Bergin, and was accompanied by her three children—Miriam, 13, Iván, 11, and Jesús, 8.

Almost the first thing the judge uttered was, “She is removable as charged,” based on overstaying a visa.

Bergin called Julieta Bolívar to the stand, and established her long record of work in the United States—as a waitress, office

cleaner, and currently as an intern with the American Friends Service Committee. He asked Bolívar to describe her many volunteer school and community activities, as well as the activities of her children.

The judge kept questioning Bolívar about her “plans” to live in Bolivia. Could she find a job? Would her children have medical coverage? Where would she live? etc. Bolívar has lived in the United States for 17 years and has no known relatives in Bolivia. So she stated that these things would be very difficult. Her lawyer asked about the effect the deportation order has had on her children, and she described their anxiety.

The government attorney and judge questioned her closely about the dates of her entry into the United States, as they had a printout that seemed to indicate that she had entered through Miami in 1998. But Bolívar denied ever leaving the United States, and explained that at one point her passport had been stolen. Finally, her explanation was accepted.

The judge talked to and questioned each child. At one point he demanded that Iván and Miriam demonstrate Bolivian folkloric dance right in his office. But the tide turned as he talked to the kids, and especially when he noticed the brightly colored T-shirts each was wearing. The shirts called for amnesty and legalization of all immigrants, and an end to discrimination. They had pictures of Bolívar and her children, pleading that they not be separated.

Bolívar’s oldest son, Iván, when questioned by the judge what he wanted to become when he grew up, proclaimed his desire to be a lawyer to keep families together.

“I’ve never seen someone coming in wearing T-shirts like that,” said Ferlise, the judge. “We’ll see what we can do.” As descriptions of her community activism unfolded, Ferlise seemed to realize this was not an ordinary case.

As the hearing wound up, the judge asked the government attorney if he had any objections to vacating the deportation order. He said he did not. The judge then and there issued his ruling, which stated, “These are nice, engaging kids that are a credit to you. You have worked hard, always knowing you were here illegally and that the dreaded nightmare of immigration knocking on your door could happen at any time.” Which is what happened when a Pennsylvania state trooper demanded to see Bolívar’s green card instead of offering assistance when she was fixing a flat tire by the side of the road in August 2002.

The judge concluded with a description of a similar case heard by the Board of Immigration Appeals, saying, “We are bound by their decisions. There is great value in keeping you and your children here. You are truly assets to your community. We will grant approval of the cancellation of the deportation order, and issue you permanent residency and a green card.” He added, “Maybe you should print a photo of your green card on one of those T-shirts, and wear it in case you get stopped again.” We hugged each other, laughing and crying at the same time, as we began to celebrate the victory.

Celebrate victory in antideportation fight of Julieta Bolívar!

Chicago activist Julieta Bolívar won her green card after a 15-month fight against government efforts to deport her. Celebrate her victory and continue the struggle for equal rights for all immigrants.

Date: November 21
Time: 6:00 to 11:30 p.m.
Place: Centro Social de Nuestra Señora del Tepeyac, 2414 South Albany St.
CHICAGO

Omaha meat packers win back union steward’s job

BY LISA ROTTACH

OMAHA, Nebraska—“Martín returns to work Monday! We did it!” shouted two meat packers to their co-workers in the Swift & Co. cafeteria here on Friday, October 31. Workers applauded and cheered in response, celebrating victory in the three-week fight against the bosses’ attempt to fire Martín Cortez, the chief union steward in the beef slaughterhouse.



Militant/David Rosenfeld

Swift workers and supporters rally at Omaha plant gate October 13 to collect petitions demanding reinstatement of chief union steward Martín Cortez.

The cut and kill plant has been organized by the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 271 since May 2002—the result of a hard-fought organizing drive.

The events began on October 10 when, under pressure to keep production going, Cortez neglected to follow a safety procedure to properly shut off power to the split saw he was working with. Making the most of what they saw as an opportunity to get rid of a union leader, the bosses suspended Cortez, with intent to fire. “I knew I was really fired,” said the 26-year veteran Swift worker. “With all the pressure they put on you to keep the line running, mistakes get made,” he said. “They’re pushing us to the limit.”

Word spread quickly through the plant about the suspension. Several workers organized to relate the facts to their co-

workers during the lunch breaks. That evening, they attended a meeting to map out a plan to defend Cortez. Throughout the week, between 5 and 15 people met nearly every day to organize the next steps in the fight to win the steward’s job back, with the aim of involving as many co-workers as possible.

At 5:00 a.m. on October 13, about two dozen unionists and supporters of the fight gathered in the company parking lot. They held placards reading, “The union makes us strong” and “Return Martín to work now,” and handed out fact sheets on the case. Cortez was there, greeting his co-workers as they passed by.

The demonstrators stayed put when the human resources manager threatened to call the police and have them evicted. The police never arrived.

In one and a half hours, more than 300 of the 400 day shift production workers signed a petition demanding Cortez’s reinstatement with full seniority. At lunchtime a delegation of 15 workers delivered the signatures to the bosses.

The rally was covered by television Channel 6, which also broadcast an interview with Cortez. Workers translated an *Omaha World-Herald* report of the action entitled, “Swift plant workers protest suspension,” and printed it on a leaflet for distribution in the plant. They also reproduced a *World-Herald* exposé on unsafe conditions in the meatpacking industry, and the pressure placed on workers—including many undocumented immigrants—not to complain or organize against such conditions.

Cortez’s supporters kept up the pressure over the following week. On October 14, kill floor workers signed a poster board that read, “Support Martín this afternoon! We do not accept his firing.” Following their shift, 40 workers grouped in the cafeteria in the plant’s fabrication department to press for information on the status of Cortez’s case from the human resources manager. “We encouraged everyone to put a union sticker on their hard hat as a

show of unity and support for Martín and our union,” said Rafael Andrade. “Almost everyone put one on, sometimes three or four! The previous day many of us used blood to paint ‘M’ for Martín on our hard hats. People were also shouting, ‘What do we want? Martín! When do we want him? Now!’ This really had an impact on the company.”

“On Friday when we heard of our victory, we organized a celebration dinner at a local restaurant, and invited our co-workers to join in the festivities,” said Flori Andrade, a worker with five months in the plant who had previously worked at the unionized Swift plant in Grand Island, Nebraska. “Martín was back with us in the plant on Monday. It was a victory for our union, for all of us.”

“Two previous stewards had been fired for safety violations like this,” said Olga Espinoza, a kill floor union steward. “They didn’t win their jobs back because we didn’t fight. Not this time. This time we organized a real fight against this company attack on our union.”

“Some workers got scared,” said one veteran worker. “But most, rather than being afraid, got angry and wanted to fight. The company saw our union, and how we can organize. We have to unite even more, never trust any of these bosses, because they are always ready to attack.”

Cortez’s co-workers greeted his return with shouts and applause. “Thank you all for your support that you gave me,” he said. “Now we must keep sticking together and move forward.”

The incident has provoked discussions among workers about unsafe working conditions and how to combat them. One man told the *Militant*, “Safety is our responsibility, it’s a union responsibility. The company doesn’t care about safety. We must let everyone know that if you’re pressured to break a rule, you don’t do it. You call your steward.”

Currently safety questions are supposed to be dealt with by a joint union-company committee. “It’s become clear to me that we need an independent union safety committee, with only workers on it,” said Cortez. “No company personnel, because their interest isn’t really our safety.”

Lisa Rottach is a member of UFCW Local 271 and a kill floor worker at Swift & Co.

Co-Op miners win solidarity

Continued from front page
United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 392 and two meetings of the Paper, Allied/Industrial, Chemical and Energy union (PACE). Unionists at these gatherings donated funds and pledged additional support for the Co-Op miners.

USWA Local 392 is an amalgamated local that organizes workers at the giant Kennecott copper mine and smelter plant on the outskirts of Salt Lake City; Syro Steel, a company in Centerville, Utah; and Calhoun Maintenance, a custodian contractor for the Salt Lake Airport.

“What happened to Co-Op miners getting fired for union activity is happening to us,” Linda Marcus, a USWA Local 392 member who works for Calhoun Maintenance, said in a telephone interview November 8. “My son was fired because he is a union member. The union is arbitrating his case. This is going on everywhere. Where Co-Op is located used to be all union until the coal companies started to turn things back to the early 1930s when there was no union. The Co-Op miners are valiant for what they are doing.”

Marcus said that after the miners left the meeting her local voted to organize a \$1

per member collection and hopes to raise between \$800 and \$1,000 for the Co-Op miners in time for the holidays.

According to Danny Hernández, one of the Co-Op miners who spoke at this meeting, Local 392 collected \$180 at the meeting for the Co-Op fight. “On September 22,” Hernández said he had told the steel workers, “the company unjustly fired and locked out 75 miners for standing together in solidarity with a co-worker they had suspended for three days with intent to discharge. The company called the sheriff to order us off the property. We had been talking to the UMWA about organizing a union. The company has a so-called union and all of the officers are bosses. We are fighting to get our jobs back.”

The invitations to speak at these union gatherings came from a trip to Salt Lake City on October 30 when a dozen Co-Op miners were part of a picket line with 40 people organized by Jobs with Justice, a coalition of labor and community organizations. The protest was held in front of the offices of Carl Kingston, the lawyer who represents the Kingston family, the owners of C.W. Mining (see last week’s *Militant*).

Jesús Salazar, a leader of the Co-Op miners fight who was part of this delegation, said in a November 5 interview, “At the union meetings we said that our wages were very low and we worked in abusive conditions. We decided to unite and seek support from different organizations. That is why we went to Salt Lake and why we will be seeking broader solidarity.”

The next morning part of the miners’ delegation returned to Huntington with a pickup truck full of food from students at the University of Utah. The four miners who remained in Salt Lake were interviewed by Univisión for the November 5 evening news.

That evening the embattled miners spoke at two meetings of the PACE union. Co-Op miners Jesús Salazar and Alyson Kennedy addressed one of these meetings. “We were dismissed unjustly and are seeking support from different

organizations,” Salazar told the members of PACE Local 8-578, who work at the Holly Corporation Woods Cross oil refinery. “We are seven weeks out of work and our situation is critical. That is why we are here. We ask for your support.”

These workers had collected \$250 from an in-plant collection, which they gave to the miners. Following the talk by Salazar, the local voted to give an additional \$350 to the Co-Op miners fund, organized by the UMWA in Price.

“The Co-Op fight represents a basic struggle for decent human rights,” said David Brown, chair of the Workmen’s Committee of PACE Local 8-758, who attended the meeting. “Our wages in PACE-organized refineries are like what most members of the UMWA make. But the Co-Op miners do not even have the basic rights to live and survive. The Kingstons are taking advantage of these miners.”

Brown said the Holly Refinery was recently bought out by a corporation in New Mexico. He said the local is facing serious attacks by the company, which is trying to cut wages and benefits.

Two other Co-Op miners, Ana María Sánchez and William Estrada, spoke at the meeting of PACE Local 8-931. This local organizes the Chevron oil refinery. The workers there took up a collection for the miners and voted to send additional funds.

On November 7, some 80 Co-Op miners and their families and supporters gathered at the San Rafael Catholic Mission just a few miles outside of Huntington for a food distribution for the locked-out miners.

Early that morning, the Co-Op miners’ food committee and the spouses auxiliary brought a truckload of food to the church and organized it into cardboard boxes. The food committee had purchased the groceries earlier that week with donations sent for the Co-Op miners to the UMWA office in Price. Every miner’s family received boxes full of canned goods, rice, beans, flour, produce, shampoo, soap, and lotion.

Just as the food distribution got going, four students from the University of Utah in Salt Lake City arrived at the church. They brought more food and clothing that they had collected on campus during the week. The students had met the miners at the picket line held in front of the Kingston family offices in Salt Lake one week earlier.

Funds urgently needed

Shortly after the students’ arrival, three members of UMWA Local 1984 from the Deserado mine in Rangely, Colorado, entered the church. They had brought loads of very much needed eggs, gallons of fresh milk, pot roasts, chicken, and more fresh fruits and vegetables.



Militant/Anne Carroll

Miners and their spouses divide up food supplies donated by supporters of the miners’ fight for a union, November 7, at the San Rafael Church in Huntington.

“At our union meeting last Sunday, we were discussing the annual Christmas party,” said Carol Amy, a member of UMWA Local 1984. “We decided to take what we spend on this and give it to the Co-Op miners. We agreed on this last Sunday and then we got the ball rolling. We found out what the miners really needed and we bought \$871 of groceries. Our local had two strikes, in 1988 and 1999, and they paid off.”

The miners have been receiving support from the mine workers union nationally. Larry Huestis, a UMWA international representative from Sheridan, Wyoming, has been assisting them. The UMWA has also set up a fund out of which Co-Op miners have been getting regular payments. These payments are given to the miners that have been pulling picket duty. The miners organize pickets in four six-hour shifts per day, seven days a week.

The Co-Op miners received their third payment from the fund as the food was being distributed. After the next week’s payment, however, the fund will be down to \$800, according to UMWA representatives here. Urgently needed funds can be sent to the UMWA, 525 So. 1st St., Price, Utah 84501. They should be earmarked: Co-Op Miners. These funds help the miners pay the rent on their trailers and apartments. The miners are also receiving help from local food banks and Catholic churches for utility bill payments.

After the food and payments were distributed, everyone gathered for an impromptu program. The students presented the miners with \$350 they had collected on campus.

“We had been discussing the Co-Op fight at several union meetings,” Don Thomas, a member of UMWA Local 1984, told the crowd. “At the last meeting a motion was made to take the money for the Christmas party and send it to the Co-Op miners. But just sending the money in an envelope was not the same as delivering the food ourselves. Sending it couldn’t have the hands, the faces, and the hearts with it. The Co-Op fight is so very much what the union is about. You are doing something for us. You are courageous and remind the rest of us of what it took to get what we have.”

Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Fall Subscription Drive September 27–November 23: Week 6 of 8							
Country	Militant Goal	Sold	%	PM Goal	Sold	Book Goal	Sold
NEW ZEALAND							
Auckland	15	11	73%	1	0	5	2
Christchurch	12	8	67%	1	1	6	1
N.Z. total	27	19	70%	2	1	11	3
UNITED STATES							
Omaha	18	19	106%	38	27	15	11
Houston	25	23	92%	10	10	20	16
Utah	10	9	90%	10	8	8	3
Washington	25	22	88%	12	10	12	4
Tucson	7	6	86%	2	1		0
Boston	40*	34	85%	30	25	25	22
Des Moines	25	20	80%	23	20	15	12
Newark	55	43	78%	20	15	30*	24
Western Col.	15	11	73%	10	6	8	5
New York	70	49	70%	35	28	40	30
Detroit	25	17	68%	8	6	15	8
San Francisco	50	34	68%	20	9	40	11
Chicago	40	27	68%	25	22	25	7
NE Pennsylvania	20	13	65%	8	2	10	2
Atlanta	40	26	65%	17	11	25	12
Seattle	25	16	64%	6	1	10	4
Philadelphia	30	19	63%	7	6	7	8
Cleveland	15	9	60%	5	4	10	5
Tampa	20	12	60%	8	2	10	2
Pittsburgh	25	15	60%	2	3	12	1
Twin Cities	45	25	56%	35	18	15	4
Los Angeles	60	30	50%	30	17	35	12
Miami	42	19	45%	12	4	21	0
Birmingham	18	5	28%	3	2	5	8
U.S. total	745	503	68%	376	257	408	211
SWEDEN							
Gothenburg	10	8	80%	2	4	5	3
Stockholm	8	4	50%	5	5	5	4
SWEDEN Total	18	12	67%	7	9	10	7
UNITED KINGDOM							
Cent. Scotland	8	5	63%	0	0	4	4
London	25	15	60%	5	3	10	10
UK total	33	20	61%	5	3	14	14
CANADA							
Vancouver	30	18	60%	5	2	15	4
Montreal	12	7	58%	6	4	15	3
Toronto	25	14	56%	5	2	15	2
CANADA total	67	39	58%	16	8	45	9
ICELAND	15	8	53%	1	0	10	4
AUSTRALIA	30	14	47%	5	1	15	3
Int'l totals	935	615	65%	412	279	509	251
Goal/Should be	950	712	75%	400	300	500	375
IN THE UNIONS							
Country	Militant Goal	Sold	%	PM Goal	Sold	Book Goal	Sold
AUSTRALIA							
AMIEU	4	1	25%			1	0
CANADA							
UNITE	3	1	33%	4	0	4	0
UFCW	10	0	0%	2	1	8	0
Total	13	1	8%	6	1	12	0
ICELAND							
Hlif	1	1	100%			1	1
NEW ZEALAND							
NDU	2	1	50%	0		1	0
MWU	2	0	0%	0		1	0
Total	4	1	25%	0		2	0
SWEDEN							
Livs	3	0	0%	2	1	3	0
UNITED STATES							
UFCW	50	28	56%	75	52	30	15
UMWA	20	8	40%	3	3	8	5
UNITE	25	9	36%	22	10	12	1
Total	95	45	47%	100	65	50	21
*Raised Goal							

AMIEU—Australasian Meat Industry Employees’ Union; Hlif—General Workers Union in Hafnarfjörður; LIVS—Food Workers Union; MUA—Maritime Union of Australia; MWU—Meat Workers Union; NDU—National Distribution Union; UFCW—United Food and Commercial Workers; UMWA—United Mine Workers of America.

Sales drive: 2 weeks and 335 subs to go!

BY PATRICK O’NEILL

With two weeks and 335 *Militant* subscriptions to go, participants in the international sales drive are organizing an intensive schedule of factory-gate, community, and campus sales, along with regular phone calling to follow up on subscribers who may want to renew. Day-to-day attention will be needed to bring the drive home in the two remaining weeks.

The chart shows that as of November 11 we are 10 percent, almost an entire week, behind schedule—a percentage point further behind than the week before. Campaigners must sell 335 *Militant* and 121 *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions to reach the goals of 950 and 400, respectively. We are further behind in sales of books to subscribers, with 249 to go to make the goal of 500.

Members of the United Food and Commercial Workers union (UFCW) made up some ground over the past week, sending in 10 *Militant* and 9 *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions. Nancy Boyasko in Washington, D.C., told the *Militant* that of seven subs sold by UFCW members to fellow-unionists in that city, two were sold at a meeting of a union local. “Before and after the meeting,” Boyasko said, “slides were shown of picket lines put up by striking UFCW workers at the Kroger supermarket chain.”

A coalfield team was organized in Alabama that same weekend, reported Jeanne Fitzmaurice from Birmingham. Two subscriptions and a couple dozen copies of the *Militant* were sold at three mine portals and in

coal mining communities. The paper’s coverage of labor struggles, including the union-organizing drive by Co-Op miners in Utah, generated considerable interest.

From Newark, Sarah Katz told the *Militant* about an all-day sales table at Rutgers University in the city’s center. That same day, she said, President Bush was due to sign a law banning a late-term abortion procedure. “We drew up a big sign saying, ‘Abortion is a woman’s right,’” she said, “and sold two *Militant* subscriptions and several Pathfinder titles on this fight and the roots of women’s oppression.”

From Houston, Brian Williams reported that literature tables have been organized at the University of Houston for the past several Mondays. The regular efforts have netted three *Militant* subs and a one-year *PM* renewal.

Two students at Los Angeles Community College bought subscriptions at a November 10 literature table, reported Frank Forrestal. Later that day, he said, campaigners joined 4,000 UFCW members and supporters picketing an Albertson’s supermarket in San Pedro. “We sold the 35 *Militants* we had in a matter of minutes,” Forrestal said. “Several longshoremen, who had the biggest solidarity contingent at the rally, made positive comments about the paper’s coverage of their fight last year to defend their union.”

Los Angeles campaigners have a ways to go to meet their goal, Forrestal noted. “Our plan is to get out all-day teams every day given how far behind we are,” he said. “We are inching our way up the hill.”

Behind the outcome of California election

Schwarzenegger victory: victory for Bush, victory for bipartisan war party

In this year's state and local elections, the Socialist Workers Party ran 16 candidates in 10 states, winning ballot status for 12 of them. In California the SWP candidate for governor, Joel Britton, was joined by Young Socialists for Britton and other campaign supporters in promoting the party's Marxist program during the contest to recall and replace Democratic Party governor Gray Davis.

The following is an excerpt from an October 17 letter to local branches of the Socialist Workers Party by SWP national secretary Jack Barnes and Steve Clark, a member of the party's National Committee. Published in a party bulletin under the title, "Communist Program, Communist Practice, and Communist Election Campaigns," it is being discussed by members of SWP units and Young Socialists across the country. The portion below places the outcome of the 2003 California gubernatorial recall election within U.S. and world politics as they are unfolding today.

The letter below was written as an aid to evaluating these efforts, and in preparation for the party's 2004 presidential campaign. These themes will be presented and discussed further at a December 7 public meeting in New York City to launch the new headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party and New York Pathfinder Bookstore, and to discuss central experiences of working-class resistance and political opportunities.

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**BY JACK BARNES
AND STEVE CLARK**

The outcome of the California recall election was a victory for the Bush administration, for the war party, and a blow to imperialist liberals and thus to their radical hangers-on, who orient and defer to what the Green Party candidate called "the base of the Democratic Party." (For the uninitiated, the image of "the base" is supposed to be a Popular Front graphic of rainbow-united, steroidal "workers," not very bright but "salt of the earth." For the "leaders," the image is progressive congressional staffs; militant trade union officials; the apparatuses of the larger Black and Latino organizations; spokespersons of coalitions of "social concern"; the owners of profitable "progressive" enterprises holding lucrative contracts granted by politicians in local, state, and federal governments; and all those "of talent" who are about to be welcomed into the big tent of leadership status in the two-party bordello.)

Governor Gray Davis was recalled by a 55 percent vote. Republican Arnold



Bush and Schwarzenegger meet the press in San Bernadino, California, October 16.

Schwarzenegger fell just short of an absolute majority, and Democratic Lt. Gov. Cruz Bustamante won 32 percent of the vote. Altogether the Republican vote—Schwarzenegger, plus conservative state senator Tom McClintock—totaled 62 percent of the ballots cast. The Democratic vote—Bustamante, the Greens, and Arianna Huffington—came to 36 percent.

Bush, who lost by a big margin to Gore in California in 2000, made known his preference for Schwarzenegger in early August, soon after the Austrian-American's announcement. This initiative by Bush was unusual for a sitting president in a race that bore many similarities to a primary election, with several prominent Republicans (McClintock, William Simon, and Peter Ueberroth) in addition to Schwarzenegger contending at the time. The president's nod, moreover, came well after Schwarzenegger had reaffirmed verbal support for abortion rights, civil unions for gays, legalization of medical marijuana, and gun control legislation—all sacred battle issues for the Republican "social right," and all issues on which Bush himself speaks softly on the "right" side, as he concentrates patriotic fire mobilizing the people of all parties on behalf of "America's global war against terrorism." Schwarzenegger's implicit endorsement of recreational use of steroids and related substances, as well as light-hearted movie-set hanky-panky, echoed elements of the "cultural contributions" of the Carter and Clinton administrations respectively; it lost Schwarzenegger few Republican votes and made him simpatico to more than a few Democrats.

As Gray Davis spent the final days of the campaign rushing around the state with Arianna Huffington, trade union officials, Albert Gore, and Sen. Dianne Feinstein, who could barely smile, Schwarzenegger appeared on platforms with a confident and enthusiastic Eunice Shriver, sister of John F. Kennedy. (A happier and calmer Maria never left his side, and she took several opportunities to proudly affirm that she remained a lifelong Democrat backing a Republican who you could trust.) Schwarzenegger's appeal was not a "populist" one, as a few bourgeois and petty-bourgeois commentators confusedly remarked. Instead, he tried to create the aura of a Republican "fusion" campaign—one modeled not on Fiorello LaGuardia or John Lindsay,¹ but on Reagan and his Democrats.

The imperialist liberals in the Democratic Party failed in their effort to defeat the Republicans on everything "Iraq" stands for, too. In fact, it backfired on them. To the degree the issue had any effect on the outcome of the campaign, it worked in Schwarzenegger's favor. He went to Iraq at the opening of the gubernatorial race to exploit some photo opportunities (and promote his new movie). But the few times the issue came up during the campaign, Schwarzenegger backed Bush administration policy while reminding critics that he was running to solve "the budget crisis" in Sacramento, not Baghdad. The course and outcome of the election confirmed what we have noted from the start: there's no reason to believe the majority of voters in Califor-

nia, or in the United States more widely, oppose Bush's and Rumsfeld's unremitting effort to find an effective course in the "war on terrorism." To the contrary.

The bipartisan war party

The wind-up week of campaigning and subsequent week of celebration by the unfolding Schwarzenegger alliance accidentally coincided with the best two weeks for Washington's "global war on terrorism" since the military victory in Baghdad last spring: the United Nations Security Council's codification of the existing fact, the "soft" U.S. protectorate in Iraq; the stunning unanimous character of that vote—including Syria—showing the effectiveness and partial legitimization of Tel Aviv's assault on the outskirts of Damascus; Tokyo's pledge to Washington not only of financial backing but troops; the launching of NATO's rapid reaction force less than a week after its ministerial war-game meeting in Colorado Springs; Gordon Brown's public offensive on the necessity of the "globalization" (in fact, the "NATO-fication") of the European Union;² and the bending to the administration's course in Iraq, however grudgingly, by opinion columnists from the *New York Times* to Patrick Buchanan ("We're there, so what should 'we' do?"). It was capped off by the bipartisan adoption in both houses of Congress of an \$87 billion appropriation for the occupation and rebuilding of Iraq and Afghanistan. All this shows the impotence of "left" imperialist opposition to the "global war against terrorism" as a successful electoral strategy against the Bush administration and its allies.

The war party in the last dominant imperialist power continues its grinding ascent, its slow, uneven march to hegemony. The

road from Dayton to Colorado Springs took eight years. But a U.S.-dominated, globally oriented new-NATO, light on its feet, deployed without preliminary parliamentary debate, would the beginning at the same time of the transformation of imperialist armed forces throughout Europe.³

Washington faces one undefeatable enemy: world capitalism's inevitably deepening depression conditions and—over time, but just as inevitable—resistance to its effects among the toilers that will bring reinforcements, make possible the stripping away of illusions, and increase class solidarity and political consciousness as the consequences of the mounting social catastrophe unfold.

Democratic 'center' absorbs 'left'

The California recall election once again highlighted one of the central political conclusions of our movement's assessment of the first, the 1992, Clinton campaign: that the Democratic "center" was absorbing the "left," and that the converging course of the capitalist parties is shifting very gradually but steadily to the right. That trend will continue so long as the rulers don't try to move too far, too fast, in their assaults on social conquests won by workers and the oppressed through the rise of the CIO social movement in the 1930s and by the mass proletarian-based struggle for Black rights, related fights by Latinos, and the women's movement and its worldwide repercussions, initiated in the 1960s and early 1970s. The Supreme Court will remind them if they do.

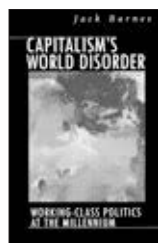
In face of the accelerating capitalist crisis and stepped-up assaults on the living standards and social conditions of working people and the middle class, the results in California weakened illusions among "progressives" that the Democratic Party has a lock on statewide elections in that state. Fifty percent of union members voted to recall Davis, as did some 30 percent of Blacks and more than 40 percent of Latinos (in face of Schwarzenegger campaigning aggressively against the bill granting driver's licenses to "illegal immigrants," that is, to drivers who can't vote). Less than a year ago Davis had won two-thirds of the vote among union members and Latinos. The combined vote for Schwarzenegger and McClintock by union members on October 7 was substantially higher than for Republican candidates in most past California elections, and the vote from Latinos and Blacks was no smaller a percentage than in most previous races.

This outcome also demonstrated once again that workers are not loyal to the ideology of imperialist liberalism. That was not even true between 1936 and 1948, the high tide of the Roosevelt administration's "New

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From Pathfinder

Capitalism's World Disorder: Working-Class Politics at the Millennium



By Jack Barnes

"What is happening in U.S. politics today is not that rightists... are pushing Bush, Clinton, and other Democratic or Republican politicians to the right. To

the contrary.... [The rightists] simply state forthrightly the reactionary presumptions behind the politically more right-wing direction that politicians in both parties are taking, even as they spar over how fast and how far to go right now in their assault on the freedoms and living standards of working people and the oppressed." **Jack Barnes, April 1993.** \$23.95

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or from bookstores

including those listed on page 8

Notes

¹*Fiorello LaGuardia*, Republican mayor of New York City (1933-45), ran on a "fusion ticket" with broad bipartisan backing. His campaigns for a second and third term were actively supported by the labor officialdom, the Communist Party, and the so-called American Labor Party, formed in 1936 by the CP and a layer of union bureaucrats to divert class-conscious workers into voting for capitalist candidates such as LaGuardia and President Franklin Roosevelt. Although LaGuardia publicly repudiated the CP's endorsement in the 1941 contest, the Stalinists kept their lips firmly planted on the "Little Flower's" nether parts through Election Day and beyond.

²*John Lindsay*, the first Republican mayor of New York since LaGuardia, lost the Republican Party primary in his race for a second term in 1969. He was re-elected on the Liberal Party ticket and switched his party designation to Democrat in 1971.

³*Gordon Brown* is the second-ranking official after Anthony Blair in the Labour Party government of the United Kingdom. In an article in the October 16 *Wall Street Journal*, Brown argued that the future of the European Union and its member governments depends on acceptance by their leaders of "globalization" and "cooperation not confrontation with the U.S." Brown has recently stepped up his drive to replace Blair as a slightly less "pro-European" leader of the Labour Party.

⁴The Dayton accord was signed in late 1995

by Serbian, Croatian, and Bosnian forces at the conclusion of U.S.-sponsored talks at the Wright-Patterson Air Force Base in Dayton, Ohio. Underlining U.S. imperialism's place as the dominant "European power," the accord laid the basis for Washington to send an occupation army of some 60,000 NATO troops into Bosnia, including 20,000 U.S. soldiers (1,500 of whom remain there to this day). The Dayton accord was imposed by the Clinton administration in the wake of devastating bombardment and shelling of Yugoslavia by U.S. and NATO forces in 1995, and following de facto sabotage by U.S. imperialism of repeated "peace initiatives" in the Balkans over the previous half-decade sponsored by European powers, especially Paris and Bonn.

Colorado Springs, Colorado, was the site of the October 2003 meeting of defense ministers of 19 NATO member countries and 7 prospective members. Hosted by U.S. defense secretary Donald Rumsfeld, almost half the gathering was devoted to playing a war game at the Schriever Air Force Base. The game consisted of NATO forces responding to a threat by "terrorists" of a missile-borne chemical attack on a European country. Pointing to the need for a transformation of armed forces across Europe, Britain's Lord Robertson, NATO's outgoing secretary-general, stated in Colorado Springs: "Out of 1.4m non-U.S. soldiers under arms, the 18 non-American allies have about 55,000 deployed on multinational operations in the Balkans, Afghanistan and elsewhere and yet they feel overstretched.... That is a situation that is unacceptable."

\$87.5 billion for war

Continued from front page

make further gains in bourgeois public opinion for U.S. imperialism's course around the world today.

In his speech, Bush invoked freedom and democracy as pretexts for extending Washington's "global war on terrorism" throughout the Middle East and beyond.

Bush invokes freedom and democracy

"Our commitment to democracy is also tested in the Middle East, which is my focus today and must be a focus of American policy for decades to come," he declared.

Equating the Baathist regimes in Iraq and Syria, Bush said, "Dictators in Iraq and Syria promised the restoration of national honor.... They've left instead a legacy of torture, oppression, misery, and ruin."

The U.S. president issued a warning to the Iranian government. "The regime in Tehran must heed the democratic demands of the Iranian people or lose its claim to legitimacy," he said.

He also singled out the governments of Cuba and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, among others. "Our commitment to democracy is tested in countries like Cuba, and Burma, and north Korea, and Zimbabwe, outposts of oppression in our world," he stated.

Bush invoked freedom of religion and advances in achieving women's equality as objectives in Washington's "war on terror-

ism." He referred, for example, to demagogic statements by the king of Morocco calling on the country's parliament to pass reforms extending "the rights to women."

"The king of Morocco is correct," Bush said. "The future of Muslim nations will be better for all with the full participation of women."

The U.S. president advanced the notion—widely held among bourgeois politicians, social democrats of various stripes, and many middle-class radicals—that "democracies" don't go to war against each other. "Because we and our allies were steadfast, Germany and Japan are democratic nations that no longer threaten the world," he said, referring to the victory by the Anglo-American bloc against the "axis" powers in Berlin, Tokyo, and Rome in World War II.

Bush's arguments were well crafted with the intention of drawing wide layers of the U.S. population behind his administration's course. Conservative columnist William Safire heaped high praise on the address. "This speech clearly articulated the policy this Bush will be remembered for," he said in a column in the November 10 *New York Times*. Safire urged everyone to read it and chided the *Times* for not printing it.

The arguments by the Bush administration have been gaining ground in bourgeois public opinion—as recent state elections in California, Kentucky, and Mississippi con-



Members of U.S. 25th Infantry Division practice house raid at base on island of Oahu, Hawaii. The division's 4,500 troops are to be deployed in Iraq as early as February.

firm—partly because bipartisan support for Washington's "war on terror" has been gaining strength throughout the bourgeois political spectrum. Not a single one of the 535 members of Congress has called for the unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops from Iraq.

Even those referred to by the middle-class left as "antiwar," are to one degree or another part of the war party—with the possible exception of Alfred Sharpton, a contender for the Democratic presidential nomination. Dennis Kucinich, for example—a Democratic congressman from Ohio and one of the nine hopefuls for the Democratic presidential nomination—has

proposed that Washington hand the United Nations control of Iraq, including its oil resources and contracts for rebuilding. He calls for "a planned and orderly withdrawal" as "UN peacekeeping troops rotate into Iraq." Kucinich is the darling of the Communist Party USA and others on the left. *People's Weekly World*, the CP's newspaper, published major excerpts of a speech by Kucinich in its October 25-31 center spread, advertising the feature on its front page as: "*Uncensored*: Kucinich in his own words."

Many liberal Democrats who criticize the Bush administration on its Iraq policy also call for increasing the number of U.S. troops there, or chide Bush for not doing enough to "boost homeland security," or not working harder to find "terrorists" such as Osama bin Laden or Saddam Hussein.

New commando unit to hunt 'terrorists'

The Bush administration, however, is working on precisely this.

That could be seen in a November 6 *New York Times* article titled "Pentagon Says a Covert Force Hunts Hussein."

The *Times* reported that Gen. John Abizaid, who commands all U.S. forces in the strategic crescent from the Red Sea to the Indian Ocean, decided over the summer to disband two Special Operations missions, Task Force 5 in Afghanistan and Task Force 20 in Iraq. The two were subsequently combined into a covert commando unit—Task Force 121—to hunt Saddam Hussein, Osama bin Laden, and "other terrorists" throughout the region, according to the *Times*.

"The new Special Operations organization is designed to act with greater speed of intelligence tips about 'high-value targets' and not be contained within the borders where American conventional forces are operating in Iraq and Afghanistan," the *Times* said. "Military officers say a broader, regional mission was given to the new force, which has become one of the Pentagon's most highly classified and closely watched operations.... While it is unclear whether President Bush, or the newly-formed Iraq Stabilization Group at the National Security Council, were directly involved in the decision to create the new force, senior administration members have said in the last two months that capturing or killing Mr. Hussein would change the dynamic of the American occupation." The CIA has assigned agents to be attached to Task Force 121.

The publication of this move came barely two weeks after the public call by U.S. secretary of defense Donald Rumsfeld for a "new finding" during an October 23 press conference to present an internal Department of Defense memorandum he had authored that had been leaked to the press a day earlier. The memo called for bolder moves by Washington in its "war on terrorism." A "finding" is a secret presidential order authorizing CIA or Special Operations forces to go into a country and kill someone or carry out other covert operations.

It is not clear whether Task Force 121 is the rapid fruition of Rumsfeld's proposed "new finding," or whether such a presidential order already existed for its creation. It is likely, however, that this covert unit or others being created under such "findings" will operate in Pakistan, as well as Syria and Iran. Pakistan is one of the countries in the region where the government has not been fully cooperating with Washington in handing over al Qaeda leaders who are reportedly functioning within its borders.

Rumsfeld has repeatedly noted the dan-

Continued on page 9

Republicans elected governor in Kentucky, Mississippi

BY SAM MANUEL

Two more Republican candidates won gubernatorial races in southern states during state and local elections in the United States November 4. Eight of the 11 southern states that made up the former Confederacy now have Republican governors. The political themes stressed by candidates from both parties registered the ongoing slow shift to the right of bourgeois politics.

Haley Barbour, a former chairman of the Republican National Committee, was elected governor of Mississippi by a margin of 53 percent against 45 percent for incumbent Gov. Ronald Musgrove, a Democrat. In Kentucky, the Republican candidate Ernest Fletcher won even more decisively with 55 percent of the vote against 45 percent for his Democratic opponent, state attorney general A.B. Chandler. This was the most weighty victory for the Republicans, since the Democrats have held the governor's

mansion in Kentucky for 32 years.

Republican party officials in the south were quick to point out that the victories follow the party's win in the California governor's race and bode well for president George Bush's reelection in 2004. Bush, Vice President Richard Cheney, and other leaders of the Republican Party campaigned vigorously in these two races.

In both states, the Democrats went to great lengths to associate their Republican opponents with the economic policies of the Bush administration. In Kentucky, the Democratic candidate charged that Bush's economic policies had led to the loss of 60,000 jobs in the state.

Both capitalist parties spent millions on the campaigns. The Republican Governors Association slapped down \$4 million to back their candidate in Mississippi. Its Democratic counterpart threw in \$2 million behind their candidate. Between the

when their social system is under strain. The fact that the chief executive has a fixed term is a stabilizer underlying this party fluidity. A recall, like impeachment, is never anything but a hesitantly used last resort for the rulers. But the pornographication of politics and its sabotage of civility may well increase the use of these forms, and with them space for destabilizing radical right demagoguery within bourgeois politics.⁴

Given what had been done to working people by the Davis administration in less than a year since he was re-elected, the Democrats' election-time pitch fell on deaf ears among growing numbers confronted by the insecurity of rising joblessness, onerous debts, rising direct and indirect taxes, and devastating cuts in health benefits, pensions, unemployment insurance, workers compensation, recreation and training for prisoners, education, and other social programs. Liberals and their middle-class radical camp followers were reduced to warning of "the horror" if Davis were recalled and Herr Schwarzenegger swept into Sacramento. But millions of urban and rural working people in California were already in the midst of what they were living as an unfolding Davis-Bustamante-induced horror.

⁴This pornographication and breakdown in civil discourse in bourgeois politics is discussed in greater detail in the book *Capitalism's World Disorder: Working Class Politics at the Millennium* by Jack Barnes, as well as in the article by Barnes in issue no. 10 of *New International* magazine entitled, "Imperialism's March toward Fascism and War."

Victory for bipartisan war party

Continued from Page 6

Deal" and the Truman administration's initial "Fair Deal," much less today.

Party loyalty shallow

In this regard, the campaign wrap-up editorial in the October 27 issue of the *Militant* slipped in saying that, "*Despite* Davis's very liberal record over the past two years, half of union households voted to oust him" (emphasis added). It has never been the fact, and never the position of communists, that workers are more prone to be attracted to the program of imperialist liberalism than imperialist conservatism. Either way, working people and the oppressed go to the wall.

In the absence of any mass proletarian leadership, working people seldom vote on the basis of "program." To the degree workers vote—and the "electorate" under bourgeois democracy is disproportionately weighted toward the middle class and professionals—they look above all for a possible road forward in face of the concrete conditions of daily life under capitalism. In doing so, they're forced to choose between the twin parties of the exploiting classes, or occasionally a short-lived "third party" offshoot of one of them. And if "our country" is fighting a war, they have to be very convinced before switching from the incumbent "commander in chief."

So-called party loyalty is shallow in U.S. capitalism's two-party system, relative to imperialist countries with mass ideological parties—be they labor, social democratic, Stalinist, or Catholic- or Protestant-based. This fact has served the U.S. rulers well

Black nationalism and self-determination

Printed below is an excerpt from *Leon Trotsky on Black Nationalism and Self-Determination*, one of Pathfinder's Books of the Month in November. Trotsky was part of the central leadership team of the Bolshevik Party from the time of the October 1917 revolution in Russia and of the Communist International in its early years. Following the death of V.I. Lenin in 1924, Trotsky became the principal leader of the international fight to continue implementing Lenin's political course and the program for world revolution developed by the Communist International under Lenin's guidance—the program that to this day continues to underlie the work of communists in every country.

The excerpt is taken from a discussion between Arne Swabeck, a leader of the Communist League of America, and Trotsky in February 1933 in Prinkipo,

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

Turkey, where Trotsky had been exiled by the regime of Joseph Stalin. This and a subsequent 1939 discussion between Trotsky and leaders of the CLA's successor, the Socialist Workers Party—both of which are printed in this book—helped reorient the communist movement in the United States and form a key part of the political basis of the SWP's policy toward the struggle for Black liberation. The term "Negro" used below was common at that time. The terms "Black" or "Afro-American" have been established in recent decades as a result of the gains in the fight for Black



Students stage sit-in at Woolworth's in North Carolina in 1960—part of a wave of protests that helped break down segregation in the U.S. South. Trotsky said that unless a worker who is white breaks with ruling-class racism, "he cannot liberate himself."

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BY LEON TROTSKY

The political argument rejecting the demand for self-determination is doctrinaireism. That is what we always heard in Russia in regard to the question of self-determination. The Russian experience has shown us that the groups which live a peasant existence retain peculiarities—their customs, their language, etc.—and given the opportunity these characteristics develop.

The Negroes have not yet awakened, and they are not yet united with the white workers. Ninety-nine point nine percent of the American workers are chauvinists; in relation to the Negroes they are hangmen as they are also toward the Chinese, etc. It is necessary to make them understand that the American state is not their state and that they do not have to be the guardians of this state. Those American workers who say: "The Negroes should separate if they so desire, and we will defend them against our American police"—those are revolutionists, I have confidence in them.

The argument that the slogan for self-determination leads away from the class point of view is an adaptation to the ideol-

ogy of the white workers. The Negro can be developed to a class point of view only when the white worker is educated. On the whole the question of the colonial people is in the first instance a question of the education of the metropolitan worker.

The American worker is indescribably reactionary. This can be seen now in the fact that he has not yet even been won to the idea of social insurance. Because of this the American Communists are obligated to advance reform demands.

If the Negroes do not at present demand self-determination it is of course for the same reason that the white workers do not yet advance the slogan of the dictatorship of the proletariat.* The Negroes have not yet got it into their heads that they dare to carve out a piece of the great and mighty States for themselves. But the white workers must meet the Negroes halfway and say to them: "If you want to separate you will have our support." The Czech workers as well came to Communism only through disillusionment with their own state.

I believe that because of the unprecedented political and theoretical backwardness and the unprecedented economic progressiveness in America, the awakening of the working class will proceed quite rapidly. The old ideological covering will burst, all questions will emerge at once,

and since the country is so economically mature the adaptation of the political and theoretical to the economic level will be achieved very rapidly. It is then possible that the Negroes will become the most advanced section. We have already a similar example in Russia. The Russians were the European Negroes. It is very possible that the Negroes will proceed through self-determination to the proletarian dictatorship in a couple of gigantic strides, ahead of the great bloc of white workers. They will then be the vanguard. I am absolutely sure that they will in any case fight better than the white workers. That, however, can happen only provided the Communist Party carries on an uncompromising, merciless struggle not against the supposed national prepossessions of the Negroes but against the colossal prejudices of the white workers and makes no concession to them whatever.

SWABECK: It is then your opinion that the slogan for self-determination will be a means to set the Negroes into motion against American imperialism?

TROTSKY: Naturally, by carving their own state out of mighty America, and doing that with the support of the white workers, the Negroes' self-confidence will develop enormously.

The reformists and the revisionists have written a great deal to the effect that capitalism is carrying on the work of civilization in Africa, and if the peoples of Africa are left to themselves they will be all the more exploited by businessmen, etc., much more than now where they at least have a certain measure of legal protection.

To a certain extent this argument can be correct. But in this case also it is foremost a question of the European workers: Without their liberation real colonial liberation is not possible. If the white worker performs the role of the oppressor he cannot liberate himself, much less the colonial peoples. The right of self-determination of the colonial peoples can in certain periods lead to different results; in the final instance, however, it will lead to the struggle against imperialism and to the liberation of the colonial peoples.

*The Marxist term for the form of rule by the working class that follows rule by the capitalist class (dictatorship of the bourgeoisie). A modern equivalent is "workers state."

November BOOKS OF THE MONTH

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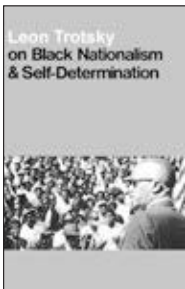
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ILLINOIS: Chicago: 2901 W. 59th Street. Zip: 60629. Tel: (773) 737-1190. E-mail: Chicagoswp@sbcglobal.net

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NEBRASKA: Omaha: P.O. Box 7005. Zip: 68107. E-mail: omahaoc@netscape.net

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WASHINGTON: Seattle: 5418 Rainier Avenue South. Zip: 98118-2439. Tel: (206) 323-1755. E-mail: swpseattle@yahoo.com

AUSTRALIA

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BRITAIN

London: 47 The Cut. Postal code: SE1 8LF. Tel: 020-7928-7993. E-mail: cllondon@onetel.net.uk

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FRANCE

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ICELAND

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NEW ZEALAND

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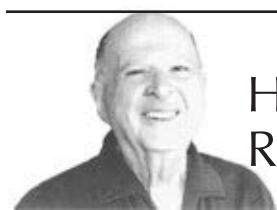
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SWEDEN

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A real comfort—At the peak of the California fire, the *Los*



Harry Ring

Angeles Times offered this cheery headline: “Blaze not expected to ravage economy—Despite their

size, the fires are on the fringe of the region’s business activity.”

‘Mother Nature’—Another *Times* headline: “Fires roaring mostly where prevention funding lagged.” A subheading read: “Some homeowners could be surprised to discover that their coverage was inadequate.”

Brimming with optimism—“Illinois: Springfield—An early retirement program offered to state employees last year will increase government costs \$380

million for the next nine years.... About 11,000 employees took the option.”—News item.

The ‘justice’ system—“Tennessee: Chattanooga—A death row inmate whose sentence was overturned in 2002 must post bond of \$100,000 or wait behind bars for his new trial, a judge ruled. Michael McCormack spent 15 years on death row after being convicted in the killing of a pharmacist in 1985. The sentence was overturned in 2001 when a judge ruled McCormack had ineffective

representation.”—News item.

You know, the feds are pretty busy—“A state committee report says racial harassment is a big problem in Vermont schools despite efforts to combat it. The Vermont Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights says some minority students are forced to change schools, move or turn to home schooling....”—*USA Today*

Free education?—School staffs in England and Wales were

chopped more than 21,000 staff members, according to a report by the National Union of Teachers—*The Times*, London.

Try delivering pizzas—The cost of U.S. college education has spiraled more than 40 percent in the past 10 years. What a deal! The wonderful booklet, *The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning*, is available at a discount when purchased with an introductory subscription to this paper. You’ve already got both? Fine. Shop early for Marxmas.

Bush signs \$87.5 billion bill for ‘war on terror’

Continued from page 7
ger for Washington of Islamic “madrassas” schools, many of which he claims “breed terrorists,” that are concentrated in Pakistan.

Attacks by such forces on U.S. targets and those deemed as allies of Washington have continued to mount not only in Iraq but throughout the region. A tip by U.S. intelligence prompted U.S. authorities to shut down the U.S. embassy and two consulates in Saudi Arabia hours before a suicide bombing of a well-off housing complex in Riyadh, the Saudi capital, November 8. U.S. and Saudi authorities blamed al Qaeda for the bombing, which killed 17 people and wounded 122. Most of the victims were reportedly of Middle Eastern origin.

Rumsfeld’s emphasis on reliance on Special Operations commandos, and more agile, and fight-ready conventional units that are not burned out by long tours of duty is part of the broader transformation of the U.S. military that has been accelerated under the Bush administration.

No ‘exit strategy’ in Iraq

On November 6, Rumsfeld held a news briefing at the Pentagon to announce Washington’s policy in rotating U.S. soldiers occupying Iraq, most of whom will be replaced by fresh forces over the first quarter of next year. The rotation of U.S. troops will include sending more “mobile infantry elements,” with increased firepower, that are more “appropriate to deal with the evolving threats in Iraq,” Rumsfeld said. Tours of duty will be limited to a maximum of 18 months, he stated, as part of guaranteeing the combat-readiness of the U.S. forces.

Rumsfeld stressed the volunteer character of the call-up. “We’ve tried to ensure that the number of people who have been recently mobilized is as small as possible and that as many of the forces as possible that remobilized or extended—either one—are in fact volunteers.”

U.S. forces will be cut from the current 130,000 to 100,000 by next May, he asserted, while, at the same time, qualifying this estimate with the degree of progress Washington makes in recruiting and training Iraqi “security forces.”

The secretary of defense made this crystal clear at a November 10 news briefing at the Pentagon. “As we replace U.S. forces serving in Iraq, beginning next year,” he told the press, “the level of coalition and U.S. forces will depend on the security situation on the

ground and also on the pace at which Iraqi forces, security forces, are able to assume additional responsibilities. But let me be clear. The goal is not to reduce the number of U.S. forces in Iraq. It’s not to develop an exit strategy. Our exit strategy in Iraq is success. It’s that simple. The objective is not to leave, the objective is to succeed in our mission. That’s why we remain on the offense.”

This is necessary, he emphasized, to counter those who think they may be able to push the occupying forces into a corner by inflicting more and more casualties through guerrilla-type attacks.

Total deaths of GIs in the first week of November reached 34 when six soldiers went down with a Black Hawk helicopter on an island in the Tigris River. The week’s toll included two civilians working for the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers—bringing U.S. casualties since Bush declared an end to major combat in Iraq to 268. A Polish officer was also killed. With the Black Hawk down, reported the Associated Press, U.S. forces swept through Tikrit neighborhoods, “blasting houses suspected of being insurgent hideouts with machine guns and heavy weapons fire.” One U.S. officer said, “This is to remind the town that we have teeth and claws and we will use them.” On November 9, U.S. planes dropped 500-pound bombs on targets near Fallujah and Tikrit. These were the first U.S. air strikes since the disintegration of Saddam Hussein’s armed forces and the official end of major combat on May 1.

Earlier that week, Turkish and U.S. government officials announced that they had canceled an agreement to dispatch 10,000 Turkish troops in Iraq. The plan had sparked opposition in Iraq, especially among the Kurdish population in the north. Kurds in Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and elsewhere have fought a long battle for self-determination against the capitalist regimes in the area, including the Turkish armed forces. The prospective deployment had caused protests by members of the Iraqi Governing Council, which was handpicked by Paul Bremer, the civilian head of the U.S.-run Coalition Provisional Authority. The deployment was canceled partially because of Ankara’s earlier decision to not allow U.S. troops to use its soil for invading Iraq.

During the November 10 press briefing, Rumsfeld made it clear that the White House doesn’t want governments that don’t share Washington’s goals to send troops to Iraq. “I

would like to see a lot of troops from other countries,” he said. “But we don’t want it to be countries that don’t want to be there or countries that don’t want to have larger numbers there, because we feel people ought to do that which they believe is in their best interest.”

Iraqis will be used as second-rate scouts

Top U.S. government officials from Bush down are emphasizing recruitment of Iraqis into the country’s new “security forces.”

“Approximately 100,000 Iraqis now serve in the various branches of the five security forces—the Iraqi Police Force, the Facilities Protection Service, the new Iraqi army, the Border Guards, and the Iraqi Civil Defense Corps,” said U.S. deputy secretary of defense Paul Wolfowitz in a November 4 speech at George Mason University during a “Conference on Iraqi Reconstruction.”

Wolfowitz made it clear that Washington has no illusions about relying on the Iraqis to carry out combat in Iraq. It will instead use them as second-rate scouts and guards.

“These young Iraqis are not trained as well as Americans. They’re not equipped as well as Americans,” Wolfowitz continued. “But they can...communicate with people with a speed that our people obviously can’t match without translators. They can read the local situation in ways that we can’t.”

Wolfowitz emphasized that the occupation has no time limit. “It is crucial that we send a clear and strong signal that the United States will be with them until we are no longer needed,” he said.

— 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —



November 24, 1978

This fall has seen a rapid growth on college campuses of demonstrations in solidarity with the freedom struggle in South Africa.

These actions have focused on demands that universities get rid of stocks they hold in U.S. companies operating in South Africa.

Student protests have put the spotlight on the huge profits U.S. corporations reap from the brutal exploitation of Black labor. The have also begun to expose the U.S. political, economic, and military support that protects those profits and bolsters the apartheid regime.

Campus-based actions have already begun to convince growing numbers of Americans that the United States must get out of South Africa altogether.

The Young Socialist Alliance is part of the developing movement. YSA National Chairperson Cathy Sedwick explains why. “As a revolutionary socialist youth organization, it is the YSA’s internationalist duty and responsibility to aid the struggle of our South African sisters and brothers,” she says.

“The U.S. government, corporations, and banks provide powerful support for the apartheid regime.

“Protests demanding that universities divest reflect the desire of thousands of students and other young people to aid the African liberation struggle.

“When Soweto exploded in 1976, it had a tremendous impact in the United States, especially in the Black community.

“Black youth marched with banners proclaiming, ‘Harlem-Soweto—Same Struggle,’ as they protested repression in South Africa.”



November 23, 1953

The long hard legal battle of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to end segregation of Negro children in schools has once again forced the issue to a hearing by the U.S. Supreme Court on Dec. 7–8. An historic legal decision on segregation is within sight.

To put pressure on the Supreme Court, the Southern bourbons are preparing to brazenly circumvent any “adverse” decision by organizing a Jim Crow “private” school system. Governor Talmadge of Georgia has given the signal for such a maneuver in the Georgia legislature.

The school boards argued their case in the lower courts on the notorious Jim Crow “separate but equal doctrine.” In this way they sought to evade the clear intent of the Fourteenth Amendment to destroy all caste and color legislation in the United States.

Talmadge gave the Georgia legislature his “solemn promise...that as long as I am your Governor there will be no mixed schools and colleges in Georgia.”

The NAACP court fight is an important step forward in the struggle. But the reactionary racist forces will not be defeated by court action alone. What the South needs is a militant labor movement to establish democracy by direct mass action. A court decision eliminating segregation in the schools will give a powerful impetus to the fight against Jim Crow. But only the mobilization of the entire labor and minority movement can enforce a legal decision that the Jim Crow forces are determined to obstruct at all costs.

—MILITANT LABOR FORUMS—

ILLINOIS Chicago

The Revolutionary Example of Cuban Doctors and Literacy Teachers in Venezuela: A Slideshow Presentation. Speaker: Argiris Malapanis, *Militant* editor, who has just returned from a reporting trip to Venezuela. Sat. Nov. 22, Dinner 6: 30 p.m. Program 7:30 p.m., 2901 W. 59th St., tel. 773-737-1190.

NEW JERSEY Newark

Abortion is a Woman’s Right! Speaker: Sarah Katz, Socialist Workers Party. Fri. Nov. 14 7:30 p.m., 168 Bloomfield Ave., 2nd floor. 973-481-0077.

NEW YORK Manhattan

Why is Washington Making Progress in its ‘War on Terrorism’ in Iraq and Beyond? Speaker: Sam Manuel, *Militant* staff writer. Fri. Nov. 14. Dinner 6: 30 p.m.; program 7:30 p.m., 545 8th Ave. (between 37th and 38th Sts.) 14th Floor, tel. 212-695-7358.

—CALENDAR—

NEW YORK Manhattan

Picket/Protest the sentencing of the Vieques 12 at the United Nations. Thurs. Dec. 4 5:30 p.m. Ralph Bunche Park, E. 42nd St. and 1st Ave. tel. 212-927-1190, 718-601-4751, 201-435-3244. ProLibertad@hotmail.com Sponsored by ProLibertad Freedom Campaign.

Support the Co-Op miners!

The struggle by some 75 workers fighting to get their jobs back and to organize a union at the Co-Op mine in Huntington, Utah—now in its seventh week—is the most important labor battle in the United States today. Organizing solidarity with this fight needs to be a top priority of every militant worker or farmer and every student or other youth who cares for workers’ rights. The Co-Op miners’ struggle can become a cause of the entire labor movement.

There are big stakes involved in this battle for both the coal miners’ union in the West, and for the employers. If the company wins, the bosses will have a field day in diminishing the effectiveness of the miners’ union in that entire region of the United States. If the workers succeed in getting their jobs back and winning union recognition, the road will be open to the renewal of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA). Retired coal miners in the West and elsewhere, who are veterans of previous union struggles going back to the 1970s, have been among the first to see this fight as a step toward the potential revitalization of the entire union.

The workers at Co-Op, most of whom were born in Mexico, have turned to and won the backing of the UMWA as they have drawn the line against the bosses’ push to operate the mine under increasingly dangerous conditions, with a pay scale of \$5.25 to \$7 an hour.

According to an October 6 UMWA press release, 75 percent of the mine’s 83 hourly workers have signed a representation petition with the union. At the union’s recent special convention in Las Vegas, Jesús Salazar, a leader of the Co-Op fight, addressed the delegates and said: “We are here looking for the UMWA’s indispensable support because we were unjustly fired for defending our rights and protesting the mine’s unsafe working conditions. We are determined to fight until this mine becomes UMWA territory and we can put an end to the abuse and extreme level of exploitation we have endured.”

The union responded with financial and other aid. “We stand with these workers in solidarity as they fight for justice and dignity,” UMWA president Cecil Roberts told the 500 convention delegates. “We call on all

American workers to support their struggle because we believe ‘an injury to one is an injury to all.’”

As this week’s *Militant* and previous issues have reported, UMWA locals in Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming have pitched in with food and other donations. The UMWA has made available to the Co-Op fighters a trailer to organize picketing outside the mine in the cold winter weather, and has assigned full-time organizers to assist the struggle. Solidarity has begun to spread beyond the labor movement to community, religious, and immigrant rights groups in Salt Lake City and nearby areas.

This solidarity can be extended across the country as knowledge spreads of the battle of these workers against the Kingston family. This is a well-known polygamous clan. It is infamous for a suit brought last August by one young woman from the family who has accused 242 clan members of operating “a secretive religious society and economic organization that teaches and promotes sexual abuse of young girls through illegal and underage marriages, incest, and polygamy.” This wealthy family has a \$150 million business empire in six western states and has raked in as much as \$1 million per month from its Co-Op mine, one of its most profitable operations.

Solidarity activities can include raising funds for the workers and their families; collecting food donations; sending messages of support; and “adopting a family” among the strikers to help pay bills, make sure the kids can go to school, and put food on the table for the duration of the battle.

Most trade unions are likely to show interest in this struggle. Broader support can be solicited, however, from immigrant rights organizations, groups that support the right of miners and widows to receive black lung benefits, campus and other student and youth organizations; and many others.

The fact sheet the Co-Op miners have produced about their struggle says: “We call on all workers and all democratic minded people to support our just struggle.”

Heed the call! Organize solidarity with the Co-Op miners!

Abortion is a woman’s right!

Since the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion, a woman’s right to choose this procedure has been under sustained attack by successive Democratic and Republican administrations on both the state and federal level. The recent congressional vote, with strong bipartisan support, to outlaw a specific procedure used in late-term abortions is part of the 30-year campaign to whittle away at the availability of abortion, particularly for working-class women.

The broad language describing the method to be proscribed could cover other more common abortion procedures. It is designed to have a chilling effect on the willingness of doctors and women’s health-care providers to perform them.

During the congressional debate, capitalist politicians and other opponents of a women’s right to choose continued to use the concocted and unscientific term “partial birth abortion” to describe the procedure. They

also surrounded themselves with graphic photo displays of fetuses in utero in order to obscure their real aim—to further restrict women’s access to abortion.

The action follows in the tradition of the 1976 Hyde Amendment whereby Congress denied the use of federal Medicaid funds for abortion, disproportionately effecting working-class women and those of oppressed nationalities. By 2000, some 87 percent of U.S. counties and one-third of U.S. cities had no abortion providers. Since the Hyde Amendment, many federal and state measures requiring parental notification and the imposition of waiting periods to get an abortion have also been passed.

Emboldened by the congressional vote and Bush’s signing the bill into law, rightists of various kinds and other opponents of abortion rights have announced plans to push an array of anti-abortion legislation. These include the so-called Unborn Victims of Violence Act, the Abortion Non-Discrimination Act, and the Child Custody Protection Act. The converse character of their names notwithstanding, these bills have one and only one objective: to further restrict a woman’s right to choose.

Liberal politicians, many of whom voted for banning the late-term abortion procedure, have been part and parcel of these attacks. In vetoing a similar bill in 1996, former president William Clinton encouraged opponents of a women’s right to choose to give him a bill with language he could “happily sign.”

The capitalist class, however, is far from being able to turn back the clock of history. When he pledged to sign the current legislation, Bush conceded that the “culture has not changed enough” to take away the right to abortion altogether. Despite the three-decades long campaign by the wealthy, who benefit from reinforcement of the second-class status of women, the majority in bourgeois public opinion continues to back a woman’s right to choose.

Registering the importance of the growing number of women in the industrial workforce, the United Auto Workers union has raised the demand in contract negotiations that abortion be covered in employer health-care plans.

The historic decision legalizing abortion was won through the independent action of millions of women and men in the streets. It is a precondition for the full equality and liberation of women and is a by-product of the massive civil rights struggle that overthrew Jim Crow segregation against Blacks in the 1950s and ’60s. It took similar mobilizations of women in their hundreds of thousands throughout the 1980s and ’90s to push back campaigns by rightists to shut down abortion clinics through bombings, arsons, blockades, shootings, and murder of abortion providers.

That is what is needed today to stem the rulers’ attack and advance the broader fight for women’s rights.

Imperialism and competition

BY SAM MANUEL

In a letter published in the November 17, *Militant* reader Dave Segal requests clarification of an important point in the summation of the main points in *Imperialism* by V.I. Lenin, the central leader of the October 1917 Russian Revolution and the Bolshevik Party, that appeared in this column in the October 20 issue.

“The first point in Sam’s summary,” Segal wrote, “says that, as an aspect of the transition to the imperialist epoch, ‘the lawful workings of capitalism long ago transformed ‘free competition’—a feature of capitalism in its infancy—into its opposite...’ and now the big cartels divide the world’s markets, decide what to produce, and fix prices. This summary left the impression that competition, having been turned into its opposite, must not be very important to capitalism today.

“From reading the *Militant* and other communist writings, I along ago got the impression that competition in the context of private ownership of the means of production is the deepest force and the defining feature of capitalist exploitation—even in the imperialist epoch.”

Segal asked whether his reasoning is on the right track and

REPLY TO A READER

whether the *Militant* could suggest some more readings on the subject.

The answer is yes, on this point. In Chapter seven of *Imperialism*, titled, “Imperialism As a Special Stage of Capitalism,” Lenin writes, “Capitalism only became capitalist imperialism at a definite and very high stage of its development, when certain of its fundamental characteristics began to change into their opposites... Economically, the main thing in this process is the displacement of capitalist free competition by capitalist monopoly... *At the same time the monopolies, which have grown out of free competition, do not eliminate the latter, but exist above it and alongside it, and thereby give rise to a number of very acute, intense antagonisms, frictions and conflicts*” (emphasis added).

Segal made another point, however. “It’s my sense that the imperialists use their monopoly enterprises, their state power, their interimperialist pacts, and their superexploitation of the semicolonies to temporarily manage and defuse capitalism’s crises,” he said. “But it’s the contradictions of ‘classical’ competitive capitalism that still build up and explode in time.”

This is not accurate. All the characteristics of imperialism Segal refers to above exacerbate and accelerate the capitalist crises. They don’t enable the imperialist rulers to diffuse or manage the conflicts. The way this argument is formulated could lead one to think that the monopolist stage of capitalism—capitalist imperialism—allows the wealthy rulers to tame the contradictions and antagonisms their system engenders, while the remnants of the earlier stage of capitalism, characterized chiefly by “free competition,” cause crises to explode.

In chapter 7 of *Imperialism* Lenin writes, “Finance capital and the trusts do not diminish but increase the differences in the rate of growth of the various parts of the world economy. Once the relation of forces is changed, what other solution of the contradictions can be found *under capitalism* than that of *force*?”

Later in the same chapter, Lenin made another point. “Kautsky’s utterly meaningless talk about ultra-imperialism encourages, among other things, that profoundly mistaken idea which only brings grist to the apologists of imperialism, i.e., that the rule of finance capital *lessens* the unevenness and contradictions inherent in the world economy, whereas in reality it *increases* them.” Lenin was arguing here against Karl Kautsky, a central leader of the social democratic party in Germany who turned away from Marxism to reformism. Kautsky’s theory of ultra-imperialism consisted of the idea of “a union of the imperialists of the whole world and not struggles among them, a phase when wars shall cease under capitalism,” as Lenin put it.

Monopoly capitalism does not abolish competition. But “free competition,” as Lenin said, “has become impossible after it has given rise to monopoly.” It is not uncommon today for middle-class currents to argue for the utopian, backward perspective of returning to the “classical capitalism” marked by free competition and small-scale industry on the grounds that the world economic crisis stems from “savage” or “globalized” capitalism, that is, imperialism. But classical capitalism is a thing of the past. As Lenin explained, it was transformed into the highest and last stage of capitalism. “Free competition” now exists in a world where raw materials markets have been conquered and thoroughly saturated, and where the emergence of trusts and cartels mark the supremacy of finance capital. It exists in a world that bars a repeat of the earlier, comparatively agreeable *division* of the world and more importantly makes the violent *redivision* of the world among imperialist powers inevitable.

As for possible further material: readers of the *Militant* will find the feature article in *New International* no. 10, “Imperialism’s march toward fascism and war” along with the article “What the 1987 stock market crash foretold” in the same issue of the Marxist magazine useful. Sections of *Capitalism’s World Disorder* are also very relevant (see ad on page 6). These materials provide a concrete contemporary explanation of trends of the imperialist crisis as it has developed today.

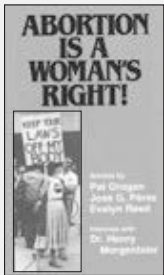
In the preface to the Russian edition of *Imperialism* published in August 1917, Lenin wrote that his purpose in writing *Imperialism* was to make clear its “economic essence,” in order for workers to better understand and appraise modern war and politics and be better equipped to fight to overturn capitalist imperialism and join the worldwide struggle for socialism.

Further reading from Pathfinder

Abortion is a Woman’s Right!

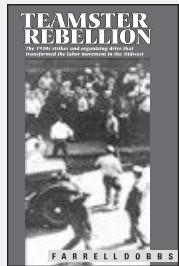
By Pat Grogan and others

Why abortion rights are central to the fight for the full emancipation of women. \$4.50



Teamster Rebellion

By Farrell Dobbs



Tells the story of the 1934 strikes that built an industrial union and a fighting social movement in Minneapolis. Written by a leader of the communist movement in the U.S. and organizer of the Teamsters union during the rise of the CIO. Part of four-volume series including *Teamster Power*, *Teamster Politics*, and *Teamster Bureaucracy*. \$16.95

Order at: www.pathfinderpress.com

How gov’t targeted ‘Militant’ during World War II

Post Office seized two issues of newsweekly in move to silence gov’t opponents

Below are excerpts from an article by Socialist Workers Party leader James P. Cannon that appeared in the Nov. 28, 1942, *Militant* protesting the action by the U.S. Post Office, at Washington’s behest, preventing delivery of the paper by mail.

The first issue of the *Militant* was dated Nov. 15, 1928. To celebrate 75 years of uninterrupted publication, the *Militant* launched this column a month ago with articles on the history and contributions of the paper as the voice and organizer of the communist movement.

Last week’s selection, an article by Harry Ring based on an interview with Cannon, explained how the *Militant* got its name. The previous two articles were excerpts from “A Short History of the *Militant*” by SWP leader Joseph Hansen, who also served as the paper’s editor at various times. Hansen explained how expelled leaders of the Communist Party launched the paper “in opposition to the Stalinist faction that had been placed in command of the Communist Party under a Kremlin ukase.”

The principal goal of this column has been to urge and aid the preparation of public forums in every single city where the paper is distributed celebrating the paper’s 75 years in the struggle for socialism (see listings below).



BY JAMES P. CANNON

During the same week that the American authorities clasped hands with the French Quisling, Darlan, in Africa and sought collaboration with the Fascist Franco in Spain, here in the United States they took the first steps to suppress a bona-fide anti-fascist workers’ paper *The Militant*.

As reported last week, the issues of November 7 and November 14 were held up by the Post Office authorities. Since then the November 7 issue has been destroyed at the Post Office on orders from Washington, and the issue of November 21, which carried a report and protest against these arbitrary actions, has likewise, been held up. We have learned from attorneys of the Post Office Department that *The Militant* has been subjected to these persecutions

because of its editorial policies and criticisms of the administration.

The Militant thus has the honor of being the first workers’ paper to suffer a reactionary attack on the freedom of the press, just as the Trotskyist movement was singled out for the first prosecution under the notorious anti-labor Smith Act. But the Trotskyists are hit only because they are the spear-head of militant resistance to the developing reaction. These attacks against the Trotskyists are, in essence, aimed at all workers rights and against the labor movement as a whole. The entrenched reactionaries are feeling their way toward a general assault on the constitutional rights of free speech and free press. They want to silence all criticism.

The arbitrary, bureaucratic violations of *The Militant’s* mailing rights is only the latest in a series of actions against the Trotskyist movement in the United States during the past year. They all fit into the same pattern....

To cap these crimes, news of these suppressions has itself been suppressed. The managers of the paper were not notified of the suppressions and were informed of them only after they had inquired concerning the non-delivery of the paper. None of the big capitalist papers has published reports of this blow against the freedom of the press.

Thus Trotskyists have been the first to be indicted and tried under the infamous and unconstitutional “gag” act of Poll-Tax Representative Howard Smith.... *The Militant* is the first labor paper to suffer suppression since this war began. Finally, the authorities have tried to suppress the news of this....

Promises and performances

In a featured article in the N.Y. Times, Sunday September 21, 1941 Roosevelt’s Attorney-General Biddle was quoted as saying: “Insofar as I can, by the use of the authority and influence of my office, I intend to see that civil liberties in this country are protected; that we do not again fall into the disgraceful hysteria of witch-hunts, strike-breakings and minority persecutions



Nov. 21, 1942, issue of the *Militant* protests seizure of two issues of the socialist newsweekly by U.S. Post Office. James P. Cannon, SWP national secretary at the time, explained that the government’s action was aimed at the broader labor movement.

which were such a dark chapter in our record of the last world war.”

We could quote similar declarations of intent from President Roosevelt and other high officials in his administration.

These declarations flagrantly contradict the policy of persecution initiated by Roosevelt’s administration against our movement. Despite their promises Roosevelt and his aides have set their feet upon the path of persecution blazed by the Wilson administration in the last war. President Roosevelt takes off where Wilson left off: Attorney-General Biddle, with his raids and persecutions, imitates Attorney-General Palmer; Post Master General Walker suppresses socialists and labor papers like his Democratic predecessor, Burleson; OWI head Davis suppresses the news of our suppression like propaganda minister Creel during the last war. They “use the authority and influence” of their offices, not to protect civil liberties, but to abridge

them. Persecutions speak louder than promises...

Roosevelt’s Department of Justice knows precisely what we stand for. The leaders of our party explained our program and policies in full detail to the judge, prosecutors and jury at the Minneapolis Trial. This testimony has been published and distributed in thousands of copies to workers all over the country, all over the world in fact.

Our program and our record demonstrate that we Trotskyists are anti-fascist to the core. We are unremitting fighters in the interests of labor. We fight for the preservation of all democratic rights and civil liberties, against every form of inequality and injustice. As revolutionary socialists, we are principled opponents of the Roosevelt administration and criticize it from the standpoint of the socialist and labor movement.

These are our crimes in the eyes of the administration, and they add to their crimes in attacking us for them. The Roosevelt regime claims to oppose fascism but it collaborates, when expedient, with the fascists. It claims to be defending the four freedoms while trying to deny these freedoms to its political opponents. We Trotskyists, however, are defending democratic rights here at home against Roosevelt’s assault upon them. We are fighting for the freedom he hypocritically pretends to be safeguarding.

Warning to the labor movement

But we are not defending these rights for ourselves alone. We are fighting on behalf of the entire labor movement in the United States. We are only the first to be attacked. If the government can put through these initial moves without a wide protest, prosecution of others will surely follow.

If *The Militant* can be suppressed, any CIO or AFL paper can be likewise suppressed. If our party’s candidates are not given their electoral rights, other parties can be similarly disfranchised. If the leaders of Local 544-CIO can be convicted under the Smith “Gag” Act, this law will be used against other militant trade-union leaders. If the FBI can succeed in their frame-ups against us, they will extend the frame-up system to others.

The persecution against the Trotskyist movement is simply the first steps towards an all-out campaign against the militants in the trade unions and the civil liberties of all working-class critics of the administration. The workers have already been denied the right of collective bargaining and the right to strike. Are they now to be deprived (by the powers that be) of the elementary right to express their convictions, to criticize the acts of the government and the reactionary plots of the profiteers, to defend their interests even in words? Wages have been frozen. Are civil liberties also to be frozen? The cost of living is mounting daily. Is the wave of reaction to be permitted to rise along with it?



—CELEBRATE MILITANT’S 75TH ANNIVERSARY—

Below is a listing of the events to celebrate the *Militant’s* 75th anniversary we have received by press time. All *Militant* distributors indicated this is an initial list of speakers and that more may be added. Unless otherwise noted, the events will be held at the Pathfinder bookstore in each city. For the address and phone number see the directory printed on page 8.

WASHINGTON Seattle

Friday, November 21, Program 7:30 p.m. Speaker: Chris Hoepfner.

WASHINGTON, D.C.
Saturday, November 22, Dinner 6:30 p.m., Program 7:30 p.m. Speakers: to be announced.

ALABAMA
Birmingham
Sunday, November 23, Dinner 3:00 p.m. Program 4:00 p.m. Speakers: Brian Taylor, former *Militant* staff writer; Ezekial Hameen, longtime supporter of the *Militant* and owner of LaVase Restaurant.

CALIFORNIA
San Francisco
Saturday, November 22, Reception 6:00 p.m., Program 7:00 p.m. (Location to be announced) Speakers: Dennis Richter, Mark Gilsdorf, Emily Paul.

Los Angeles
Friday, November 15, Dinner 6:00 p.m. Program 7:30 p.m. Speakers: Wendy Lyons, Socialist Workers Party; Harry Ring, *Militant* staff writer, editor, and contributor for over five decades.

FLORIDA
Tampa
Saturday, December 6, 7:30 p.m. Speakers: Karl Butts, Socialist Workers Party; Francis Sesler, plaintiff in the class-action lawsuit by Black farmers against the USDA; Rudolfo Valentin, member of the Carpenters Union.

ILLINOIS
Chicago
Friday, November 14, Program 7:30 Speakers: Maurice Williams, former *Militant* staff writer; Rebecca Williamson, Young Socialists; Bert Hestroffer, member of Teamsters Local 142; Keith Griep, member of UFCW Local 538 on strike against Tyson Foods.

IOWA
Des Moines
Saturday, November 15, Dinner 6:30 p.m., Program 7:30 p.m. Speakers: Joe Swanson, Andrew Pulley.

MASSACHUSETTS
Boston
Sunday November 23, 2:00 p.m. Speaker: Laura Garza.

MICHIGAN
Detroit
Saturday November 15, Dinner 6:00 p.m., Program 7:00 p.m. Speakers: Ilona Gersh, Osborne Hart, Maurice Williams.

MINNESOTA
St. Paul
Saturday, November 15, Dinner 6:30 p.m., Program 7:30 p.m. Speakers: Augustina Borreal, meat packer and participant in United Food and Commercial Workers organizing

drive at Dakota Premium Foods; Becky Ellis, reported for the *Militant* on antiwar and women’s rights fights in the South in the 1960s and 70s; John Pines, Young Socialists; Tom Fiske, Socialist Workers Party.

NEW JERSEY
Newark
Saturday, November 22, Dinner 6:30 p.m., Program 7:30 p.m. Speakers: Paul Mailhot, Patrick O’Neill.

NEW YORK
Manhattan
Friday, November 21, Dinner 6:30 p.m., Program 7:30 p.m. Chaired by Argiris Malapanis, editor of the *Militant*. Speakers: Martin Koppel, *Militant* staff writer and editor of *Perspectiva Mundial*; Naomi Craine, former *Militant* editor; Stu Singer, former *Militant* staff writer.

OHIO
Cleveland
Friday, November 21, Dinner 6:30 p.m., Program 7:30 p.m. Speakers: to be announced.

PENNSYLVANIA
Philadelphia
Friday, December 5, 7:30 p.m. Speakers: John Staggs, John Studer, Hilda Cuzco.

TEXAS
Houston
Saturday, November 22, Buffet 5:00 p.m., Program 6:30 p.m. Speakers: Tom Leonard, Jacque Henderson, Brian Williams, Tony Dutrow.

Gov't workers hold strikes in Greece

BY BOBBIS MISAILIDES AND GEORGES MEHRABIAN

ATHENS, Greece—More than 500,000 government employees in Greece staged a 24-hour strike on November 4 in support of their demand for wage raises. The action—organized by the public sector workers union federation ADEDY—was the latest in a month-long wave of protests and stoppages by workers across the country.

One day earlier, hundreds of teachers had rallied in Athens to build solidarity with their own wages fight. As they marched, they chanted, “We want increases in salaries and pensions and don’t want another penny given to the Olympics”—a reference to the government’s claims that its outlay on hosting the 2004 Olympics has left no money in the pot for wage increases.

ADEDY is demanding a starting wage of 1,050 euros (1 euro=U.S.\$1.14). It also calls for special bonus payments to be incorporated into basic salaries. In response, the government is proposing a wage of 599 euros, and insists on continuing the present bonus system.

The union’s other main demand is for the establishment of a “hazardous” job category in the public sector for jobs that involve a danger of illness or injury for the worker. Such a category would be patterned one that already applies in privately owned industries, bringing with it certain benefits, including early retirement.

Among those who have participated in the wave of labor actions have been ferry crew members, sanitation workers, public hospital doctors and nurses, teachers, and agricultural technicians. The unions are pressing for pay raises, pension benefits, and permanent jobs.

The strike by the sanitation workers who collect garbage had a major impact in Athens, Thessaloniki, and other cities. On October 23, as their strike entered its ninth day, mountains of trash dotted the streets. The workers are battling for a monthly bonus of 150 euros. They also make an effective argument for their jobs to be placed in the “hazardous” category.

The social-democratic government of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement refused to budge, holding its bonus offer at 100 euros and stating that it would not discuss the second demand.

Prime Minister Costantinos Simitis dubbed the strike a “disgrace,” while the interior ministry obtained an October 22 court injunction declaring the stoppage “illegal and abusive.” Violation of the injunction would entail a jail sentence of one month. In addition, a 2,000-euro fine would be levied on each of the union’s elected leaders for every day the strike continued after it was declared illegal.

Despite this ruling, the majority of the Executive Committee of the sanitation workers union voted to continue the strike. Hundreds of sanitation workers drove their cleaning vehicles through the center of Athens on October 23 to protest the court decision. The following day, the mayor of Thessaloniki, V. Papageorgiou, led a strikebreaking force of 25 vehicles to try to break through the picket line of 50 sanitation workers at the garbage dump in the city’s district of Tagarades. The workers stood firm and turned back the strikebreakers. A few hours later, four squads of anti-riot cops attacked the strikers with teargas and chemical spray. After a battle, the cops dispersed the picket and occupied the entrance to the dump. By October 25 most of the unionists had returned to work.

The capitalist government has responded with similar hostility to other actions. The strikes of the agricultural technicians, the hospital doctors, and nurses were also declared illegal and abusive.

Beginning in mid-September and lasting over a month, the rolling 24- and 48-hour strikes by the agricultural technicians involved veterinarians, geologists, agronomists, foresters, and ichthyologists. Finance Minister N. Christodoulakis rebuffed their demand for a 250-euro

monthly bonus, saying, “the strikers will not receive even one euro.”

As the strikes gained momentum, Minister of Agriculture G. Dris told representatives of the agricultural technicians that they would receive a monthly bonus of 30 euros this year and 20 the next. At the same time the government threatened to compel the technicians to work. Confronted by these threats, ADEDY called off a follow-up strike scheduled for October 13. Since then the unionists have decided to resume their strike actions on November 3.

The health-care sector has also been hit by stoppages. In Athens and other cities, public hospital doctors and nurses have participated in successive 24- and 48-hour strikes throughout the past month. They call on the government to spend more money to improve the inhuman conditions in the public health-care system.

The union demands the increased hiring of doctors and nurses as permanent employees, pay raises for health-care workers, and the institution of a 48-hour workweek. Doctors explain that at pres-



Teachers march November 3 as part of wave of public workers strikes in Greece

ent they are working an average of 70–80 hours per week. Both doctors and nurses are also demanding that their jobs be declared “hazardous.”

To press their demands, about 500 nurses from around the country mobilized on October 22 to block the Athens-Thessaloniki highway at the Tempi Pass.

UK postal workers shut down Royal Mail

BY PAUL DAVIES AND JACKIE FORD

LONDON—“I will not let them crush my union,” said Ben Copeland during a November 2 visit by *Militant* reporters to a picket line of postal workers outside the Mount Pleasant Royal Mail sorting office in London.

At dozens of depots in the capital and around the country, some 20,000 members of the Communication Workers Union

the bosses know that they are prepared to see the dispute through to the end.

At the Mount Pleasant depot picket line, mail sorter and acting union branch secretary Roger Charles told the *Militant*, “Last Monday the bosses told us to do work that had been taken from the Willesdon depot, where there was strike action. We told them not to ask us to do this but they ignored the request.” The walkout began on the night shift. “We organized a mass meeting mid-shift,” Charles said.

The bosses have been insisting on a new contract that “overturns some of the conditions that we have won,” he said. “For example, here the company has to hire a number of temporary workers to cover holidays, which allows us to organize leave allocation so that workers get a certain amount of choice over when holidays are taken, based on our seniority. Now they want to do away with that,” he said. The effect would be disruptive, to say the least. “If you get allocated holiday in July this year you might not get July again for another seven years.”

Workers said that the bosses also aim to eliminate breaks between regular shifts and overtime.

These attacks have been accompanied by an assault on workers’ self-respect. One Mount Pleasant worker quoted in the *Guardian* said, “They will tell you when to go to the toilet and they will talk to you with raised voices and in a generally abusive manner.”

Charles explained that “London weighting”—extra pay that the union has won in partial compensation for the higher cost of living in the capital—remains a live issue. Earlier this year the CWU organized two days’ strike action to demand an increase in this payment. “I take home on average £230 for a five day week,” said the unionist. “But like many others here I work seven days a week just in order to make ends meet.”

Ben Copeland agreed. “About 70 percent of the workforce here has to rely on overtime for a living wage,” he said.

The workers described the support given by firefighters stationed across the road from the depot. The Fire Brigades Union members, who themselves engaged in national strike action earlier this year, offered the use of their canteen facilities to the postal workers.

Charles described the employers’ pugnacious attitude toward the union. “On the first day of the strike one boss claimed

that I was intimidating workers to join the strike,” he said. “They have been following me around with a notebook.” On November 1, the *Guardian* published excerpts of a Royal Mail document outlining the bosses’ spying and harassment operation against the union. The document instructs managers to “make a note of the (union) reps’ movements, noting who they speak to immediately after leaving managers office.” In addition, it says, they should “assign appropriate numbers of managers to closely observe all the reps/committee members on site.... Follow and make notes.” It also advocates the use of closed-circuit television as a surveillance tool.

CWU deputy general secretary David Ward stated October 28 that in the period following the one-day strikes, the bosses made “every effort to humiliate and provoke” the union members. “The list of petty penalties they tried to impose guaranteed a reaction from postal workers,” he said. “At various places they refused overtime, changed duties, insisted on working Saturday as a normal day, [and] victimized union representatives.”

Ward stressed that the union officials have not endorsed the industrial action. “The union is not backing unofficial action,” he said, “but neither can we deny that the amount of management provocation almost guaranteed a reaction.”

The government took a hostile stance toward the strikers. Trade Secretary Patricia Hewitt demanded an end to “this damaging action.”

Postcomm, which is appointed by the government to regulate the industry, lifted restrictions on private firms that barred them from delivering mail, thereby aiding attempts to break the strike. One milk processing company, Express Dairies, instructed its milk delivery drivers to take on the delivery of business mail during the strike.

The London *Times* pointed to the union-busting policy of former prime minister Margaret Thatcher as an example because she allegedly “put an end to...wildcat strikes and demarcation disputes.” The big-business daily encouraged the government to adopt the same course and back the post office bosses in the current dispute.

The Confederation of British Industry and the Federation of Small Businesses both condemned the strike action. Roger Charles was unfazed by this opposition. “This is day six for us and our mood is still buoyant,” he said. Ben Copeland added, “We have to fight for ourselves and for a legacy, for the workers that come after us. I’ll see this through until the end.”

Jane Evans and Xose Añel contributed to this article.



Postal workers staff picket line in South London depot October 29 during recent wildcat strikes.

(CWU) took unofficial strike action to protest the moves by the Royal Mail company to undermine their hard-won working conditions. The strikes, which lasted for two weeks and shut down mail service across the country, ended November 3 after the union agreed to an offer from Royal Mail. The job actions were not endorsed by national union officials, who pinned responsibility for the dispute on the employers.

The bosses’ attempts to get workers to do struck work only increased the unionists’ resolve. Areas hit by the strikes included Coventry, Portsmouth, Swindon, Stoke-on-Trent, and Colchester.

In response, Royal Mail officials threatened to take legal action against the union. As deliveries ceased, the company began to seal up mailboxes in London.

At the Southall depot, the bosses sparked the strike by suspending collection drivers who refused to do the work of mail delivery workers who had walked off the job. “This isn’t our job: we drive vans and do collections,” explained postal worker Richard Pugh to the November 2 *Guardian*. When struck work from Southall was moved to nearby Greenford, Michele Laidlow refused to do it, walking out in the face of the bosses’ intransigence. She was rapidly joined by 800 of the 950 workers at the depot. *Militant* reporters visited the Greenford picket on November 2, where workers had constructed a camp and erected a Christmas tree to let